LIVY

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SELECTIONS
BOOKS II-X

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EDITED BY JAMES C. EGBERT, PH.D.

Professor of Latin, Columbia University

LIVY

BOOK I, AND SELECTIONS FROM BOOKS II–X

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LIVY

BOOK I

AND

SELECTIONS FROM BOOKS II–X

BY

WALTER DENNISON, PH.D.
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MEMORIAE

MATRIS · CARISSIMAE

ET · DVLCISSIMAE

PIETATIS · CAVSA

PREFACE

This edition of Livy was prepared to meet the needs of students, and the editor has made such selections from the first Decade and has placed in the Introduction and Notes such information as the members of his own classes at least have seemed to find interesting. In order to encourage a more extensive reading of the history of Rome, parallel references to the modern handbooks will be found at the beginning of the Notes on each section of the text. It is hoped that the student will be impressed by the fact that in reading Livy he is privileged to study a first-hand source of information. The list of modern historians is sufficiently long so that in every college library will be found at least several of the books recommended. It is hoped, also, that the teacher will require of his students especial care in pronouncing proper names. To this end the Index Nominum was prepared; the English method of pronunciation is strongly recommended. But few grammar references are given in the Notes because it is believed that the student should read his Livy rather for the pleasure of reading and the cultivation of his literary sense than for a mere study of the peculiarities of Latin syntax, although the latter is important and some attention must be given to it.

The editor expresses his gratitude to his colleagues at the University of Michigan and to the Editor-in-chief of the Series for assistance and advice.

WALTER DENNISON.

Ann Arbor, December, 1907.

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INTRODUCTION

LIVY

Life. — As his distinguished countrymen Catullus and Virgil, the historian Livy also came from the north of Italy; and like many famous men of letters he was born and reared among peaceful and strict surroundings, in a secluded part of the world away from the distractions and temptations of a great capital city. Titus Livius, the most voluminous of Roman historians, first saw the light of day in 59 B.C. at Patavium, the modern Padua, and here also he died, in the year 17 A.D. at the ripe age of seventy-six. Of his life little is known. Much of it must have been spent in Rome, for so extensive and detailed a history as he produced could not easily have been compiled elsewhere than in this center where access could be had to the public archives and libraries and other sources of information. Indeed, there are passages here and there in his work in which Livy refers so familiarly to existing monuments in Rome that it is evident that he possessed a direct knowledge of them. He enjoyed some degree of intimacy with the members of the imperial family. The emperor Augustus could not but be greatly interested in so colossal an undertaking as the writing of a complete history of Rome from the earliest times; and the friendship of the emperor was not less warm because the historian took no pains to conceal his Pompeian sympathies. Livy's fame extended far even in his own day. Pliny the Younger

tells how one man journeyed all the way from Gades in Spain to Rome solely to behold the great writer; and when his curiosity was satisfied he at once returned home. Of Livy's family relations we know nothing except that he had a son and a daughter, the former of whom was, like the father, devoted to literary pursuits.

Works. — Although Livy achieved some distinction in writing upon philosophical and rhetorical themes, these works are now lost, and his right to enduring fame rests upon his history of Rome, which apparently bore the modest title, *Ab urbe condita libri*. To the composition of this great national history, which breathes the spirit of a patriot, Livy gave the best years of his life, publishing the results of his labors from time to time. He began between 27 and 25 B.C., and from this time until his death, over forty years, he applied himself to his task. He finished one hundred and forty-two books, and with the last one the narrative reached the events of the year 9 B.C. Why Livy stopped at this point, and whether he intended to bring the history down to a later date are questions we cannot now answer. The division into books we owe to the author himself. Furthermore, as far as the 90th Book they were arranged in groups of five or ten books each. To such a group of ten books the name Decade is often applied. Beginning with the 91st Book they were grouped by historical periods. The first Decade, represented by the selections in the present volume, describes the rule of the kings, the establishment of the Republic, the struggles between the social orders of Rome, and the early conquests down to the Third Samnite War (293 B.C.).

Time has dealt so unkindly with these products of Livy's historical labors that only thirty-five of the one hundred and

forty-two books have survived to the present day. These are the first ten, already referred to, and Books 21–45, constituting the third and fourth Decades and the first half of the fifth, and reaching the events of the year 167 B.C. The small portion preserved, however, is of incalculable value to students of Roman politics and religion, of mythology and legend, and of the topography of Rome. All the remaining books are lost, perhaps beyond recovery, unless some day a discovery of papyri, — of which in recent years many thousand leaves have been found in Egyptian tombs, giving back to the world the lyrics of Bacchylides, the mimes of Herodas, and fragments of Aristotle, of the Attic orators, and of the sayings of Christ, — may restore to us a portion at least of the missing books of Livy.

The general contents of these books are, however, known to us. For not only are direct and indirect quotations by later authors preserved, but we have also summaries of the contents of all the books except two. These summaries are called *Periochæ*. They were useful in giving a rapid survey of the events described book by book, and served somewhat the same purpose as an elaborate table of contents provided in modern times for the long chapters of a comprehensive work. The *Periochæ*, which are of comparatively late date, were in the main based upon a lost Epitome, or abridgment of the entire history, made during the latter half of the reign of Tiberius and sometime before the year 30 A.D. This Epitome, adapted among other uses to reading and study in Roman schools, was prepared by a writer of some ability. Who he was is not known with certainty, but it has been suggested that he may have been T. Livius, the son of the historian.

Sources. — Livy's sincerity of purpose and an earnest desire to give a truthful and faithful account of the history of Rome cannot be called in question. We may not be prepared to say that he always knew how to distinguish reliable from unreliable information, to discern between accurate and careless statements, and, eliminating what was fabrication or legend, to recover the historical fact. But according to the standards of the time he was faithful and persevering in his labor of investigation, and he made extensive use of the literary sources available. Tacitus, the historian of the Empire, regarded Livy as *fidei præclarus in primis*. Livy often mentions by name the early historians from whose works he drew directly or indirectly. A few of the most important may be mentioned here. The earliest was Q. Fabius Pictor, who wrote the first prose history of the Romans. This was in Greek, although a Latin version we know was also prepared. It was, therefore, intended rather for the perusal of educated Romans who had felt the influence of Hellenic culture than for the mass of the people. Fabius, who lived during the Second Punic War (218–202 B.C.), used good sources apparently, and wrote a history which for the age must be considered excellent. This work is now lost, but it served as an important source for later historians, as Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Livy. The latter characterized Fabius as *scriptorum antiquissimus* (1, 44. 2), valued him as a source especially when he is describing the events of the Second Punic War, which came within the personal experience of Fabius (22. 7. 4), and justly esteemed his trustworthiness as greater than that of a later writer, Piso (1, 55. 8). Another early Roman historian, who composed in Greek and

whose work Livy probably consulted, was L. Cincius Alimentus, a contemporary of Fabius. Both Fabius and Cincius made their histories extend from the earliest accounts to their own times. The reliable sources for the compiling of this early history were exceedingly meager. Much of it was legend, as Livy himself acknowledged, forming no basis for real history. More trustworthy sources were to be found in the records of the pontifices, of the augurs, and of other sacred colleges. These records included lists of priests, of festivals and sacrifices, of minutes of meetings, and brief notices of historical events, recorded year by year. The annual records of the pontifices were called Annales Maximi. Besides these there were also accessible the lists of chief magistrates and of triumphs, also in the form of yearly records. Then there were family records of various kinds, but these were likely to be prejudiced and they were in fact notoriously untruthful. Doubtless many early monuments of an historical character perished by fire in 390 B.C., when Rome was partially destroyed by the Gauls. Since the materials of Rome's early history were to so great a degree embodied in annual records, this naturally in the beginning influenced the character of historical composition. Thus the Roman histories first compiled were annalistic; hence the first Roman historians are sometimes called Annalists.

The earliest Roman history in Latin was the *Origines* of M. Porcius Cato (234–149 B.C.). This was a treatise in seven books, written with care and exhibiting, as we are told, a sincere regard for the truth. It detailed the legends of the kings, the origin of the various Italian states (whence the name of the work), and the events of the First and Second Punic Wars. The work is now lost,

but it was probably employed by Livy as a source. Our author often mentions also the annalistic treatise of L. Calpurnius Piso (consul in 133 B.C.). Although the testimony of antiquity concerning the style of Piso is conflicting, in regard to his reliability Pliny's judgment is that he was *gravis auctor*. Livy acknowledges his indebtedness also to L. Cœlius Antipater, who sometime after 121 B.C. wrote an account of the Second Punic War, and to Q. Claudius Quadrigarius (beginning of first century B.C.) whose history of Rome began with the Gallic invasion. The historian to whom Livy most frequently refers is Valerius Antias who lived in the middle of the first century B.C. The work of Valerius was comprehensive, beginning with the legendary period, but it contained exaggerations and inaccuracies, and was therefore untrustworthy, — a fact which Livy himself seems to have discovered when later on he was able to compare Valerius with reliable sources. Livy seems to have made use also of C. Licinius Macer, a contemporary of Valerius, and Q. Ælius Tubero, who lived a little later.

Besides these histories of Rome written by his own countrymen, Livy had before him, in narrating the events of the Second Punic War and subsequent years, the work of Polybius, a Greek who wrote in his native language. A part of the history of Polybius is still extant, and from this we judge that he was more than a mere annalist; he strove to discover the causes and results of events, in short, to write a philosophical history. In addition to all these writers there were doubtless others also whose works our historian found it profitable to consult but whose names he did not think it necessary to mention.

As stated above, in dealing with his sources Livy fails

at times to evince the power of discrimination. For instance, in speaking of the date of the fight with the Gauls in which T. Manlius distinguished himself, Livy says (6. 42. 6), *pluribus auctoribus magis adducor ut credam decem haud minus post annos ea facta.* In another passage (1. 24. 1) Livy settles for himself the question whether the Horatii were Romans or Albans in this way: *auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocant; hos, ut sequar, inclinat animus.* In these instances our historian adopts the view of the majority as the correct one. This would not be regarded to-day as a safe or scholarly method of historical criticism. Sometimes, as in 1. 55. 8, he takes by preference the view of the oldest writer, or again he accepts what seems the most probable account (5. 21. 9), *In rebus tam antiquis si, quae similia veri sint, pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam.* We should remember that his task was a difficult one, since for the earlier period not only were there much inconsistency and discrepancy in the accounts handed down, but it was even in his time impossible to separate legend from fact. When, however, he reached the Second Punic War, he recognized the value of Fabius and Polybius as contemporary or nearly contemporary sources, and he also perceived both the untrustworthiness of the family records and the exaggerations of Valerius Antias. On the whole we may conclude that Livy was for his time a diligent inquirer into the truth, and that as a rule he endeavored to state the truth impartially.

Style. — The most striking features of Livy's style are conciseness and imagination; the first makes his narrative strong and effective, the second renders it clear and vivid. Examples of the author's compactness of expres-

sion are found on almost every page, and are especially numerous in the earlier books of the history. It manifests itself in the following ways: —

(1) In compound tenses the auxiliary *sum* is often omitted, even in the Indicative mood, as, for example, in the first sentence of 1. 2, *Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique simul petiti.*

(2) Asyndeton occurs frequently, that is, the natural connective between coördinate sentences is omitted, as, for example, 1. 2. 2, *Victi Rutuli, victores Aborigines Troianique ducem Latinum amisere.*

(3) Occasionally we meet with abbreviated or telescoped expressions, as, for example, in 1. 6. 1, *in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam*, which is equivalent to *in arcem ad arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam*; or, in 1. 7. 7, *reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox*, which must be expanded into *reddita ex spelunca inclusarum in spelunca boum vox.*

(4) In descriptive passages Livy often expresses himself in short, coördinate sentences rather than in long, involved ones. Illustrations are numerous. See, for example, 1. 3. 10 and 11.

The charm and power of Livy's imagination are constantly felt. His narration of events is logical and clear; but the action in the particular episodes which he describes is nearly always rapid, and each scene stands out with amazing distinctness. As marked illustrations of this feature of the author's style, the student may read the description of the fight between the Horatii and the Curiatii (1. 25), or the destruction of Alba (1. 29), or the defense of the bridge by Horatius (2. 10), or how P. Decius devoted himself for the army (8. 9). Livy's

attractiveness of diction and clearness of narration were recognized by ancient writers also. The grammarian Quintilian, who lived in the last half of the first century A.D., characterizes Livy as *mirae facundiae vir* (8. 1. 3), and says further (10. 1. 101), *Livium cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris tum in contionibus supra quam enarrari potest eloquentem.* Livy's early training in rhetoric, which prepared him for the composition of the rhetorical treatises mentioned above, was undoubtedly helpful in the writing of his history also. Among the devices which he employs to make his narration vivid and effective are: —

(1) The free use of the historical infinitive. This is carried to such a length that occasionally as in 2. 27. 1, the historical infinitive is used in a subordinate clause.

(2) The introduction of speeches in direct discourse, as, for example, those of Mettius Fufetius (1. 23) and of King Tullus (1. 28). Thus also the exact language of prayer is cited, as in the supplication of Romulus (1. 12).

Livy's Latinity, removed only a little in point of time from the formalism of Cicero, agrees in the main with Ciceronian standards. At the same time there begin to appear in his manner of writing some of the rhetorical tendencies which later in the Silver Age of Latin become pronounced. Poetic words and expressions are not infrequently found, as, for example, *pabulo laeto*, of the pasturage of cattle, 1. 7. 4; *ad primam auroram*, for the dawn of morning, 1. 7. 6; *hausere gurgites*, of drowning, 5. 38. 8.

The skillful collocation of words, designed for emphasis or variety, is also a distinctive feature of the author's style. The student may well notice the structure of every

sentence and strive to appreciate the force of the Latin word order. Asinius Pollio, a contemporary critic of Livy, detected in the latter's language a provincialism which he called *Patavinitas*, that is, a manner of expression peculiar to Patavium, Livy's birthplace. This provincialism, however, could not have been very pronounced; at any rate we fail to find any trace of it to-day.

Manuscripts and Editions. — The extant works of Livy were transmitted to our own times by manuscripts which are different for each Decade. The best manuscripts for the first Decade, which is represented in the present book of selections, is now preserved at Florence, in Italy, and is called the Codex Mediceus-Laurentianus. It was written in the eleventh century. Another important manuscript is the Codex Parisinus, at Paris, which dates from the tenth century. The first printed edition of Livy appeared in Rome about 1469. So important a literary monument has naturally occupied the attention of scholars of all times and countries. There is a large number of editions, both of the work as a whole and of separate portions of it, while the critical and exegetical literature that has appeared is very extensive. The greatest editors of Livy have been J. N. Madvig and W. Weissenborn.

The Early Legends. — In his *History of Rome* Mommsen expressed the belief that a reliable basis for authentic Roman history does not exist before the time of the war with Pyrrhus (281–275 B.C.), and this view is shared by a large number of scholars. It does not necessarily preclude the supposition, however, that the early accounts which we read in Livy, while overladen with legend, contain nevertheless a kernel of historical truth.

Tradition is persistent and remains practically unchanged after centuries of transmission. We are probably justified in believing, for instance, that there was a period in Rome's early history when the government was administered by kings. These kings possessed supreme authority, gathering about them an advisory council consisting of the heads of families. The period was formative, a period of constitutional beginnings. The earliest Romans, moreover, like other primitive peoples, were religious, devoted to the worship of the gods. They were warlike and maintained themselves upon the isolated elevations near the Tiber. At one time in their history they succumbed to the power of the Etruscans, their neighbors on the north. The fifth and seventh kings were said to be Tarquinii, the first of the name coming from Etruria; to these kings were ascribed engineering projects of a magnitude appropriate to the more advanced civilization of Etruria. It is suggested that the name of the hero, Turnus, who was the rival of Æneas as suitor for the hand of Lavinia, is only an abbreviated form of Tyrrhenus, the Greek word (*τυρρηνοί*) for Etruscan. The Etruscans arouse our great interest because their identity is wrapped in mystery. They were a powerful nation. The tradition was that in the early time their dominion extended "from the Alps to the Sicilian straits," and this tradition is in part confirmed by archæological discoveries. But who the Etruscans really were, whence they came, and what was the character of their language, we do not know. With all our present accumulation of human knowledge we must still admit that the explanation of the Etruscan people ethnically is one of the unsolved problems. Some thousands of inscriptions written in the Etruscan language

are extant, but with the exception of a few names and numerals and perhaps a score of words whose meaning we know from Roman writers, the language of this race is thus far a sealed book and will probably remain so until the discovery of a key similar to the Rosetta Stone which unlocked the mysteries of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. According to present evidence the Etruscans have no affinity with the other tribes of Italy whose languages, represented by inscriptions or literature, are known. The Romans themselves believed that the Etruscans came from Lydia in Asia Minor. Virgil calls the Tiber river, which has its source in Etruscan territory, the *Lydius Thybris* (Æneid, 2. 781, 782), and the adjective is similarly employed elsewhere. Although modern theorists have named almost every corner of the ancient world as the original home of the Etruscans, the Roman tradition has still as much in favor of it perhaps as any other. There is no doubt that the Etruscans exerted upon the Romans of the primitive period a strong influence and from them the Romans borrowed much, as, for example, the *sella curulis*, the *toga praetexta*, the number twelve of the lictors, and many rites pertaining to augury. From them the Romans also imported works of art in bronze, which were famous the world over. We find it not at all difficult to believe that such a people secured a political domination for a time in primitive Rome, and were expelled only by great effort. Afterwards there followed in Rome a period of constitutional development, characterized by struggles between the patricians and plebeians in which the latter steadily won, and accompanied by the widening conquest of the surrounding tribes. Such are the slender threads of history which run through the texture of early Roman myths.

Of remarkable interest are the data afforded by the excavations on the Palatine hill and recently in the Forum valley in Rome. On the west corner of the Palatine are the remains of structures some of which may date from as early a time as the period of the kings, in particular a cistern and a portion of the stairway called the Scalæ Caci. The excavations carried on in the Forum valley since 1898 have also disclosed the remains of a very early time. Among these is a group of monuments near the west end of the Forum. They include a fragmentary archaic inscription which relates apparently to some sacred ritual, and also the foundation of a structure called by some on the authority of certain passages in ancient writers the tomb of Romulus; it may indeed have been revered as a memorial in honor of the mythical founder of the city. The inscription referred to is as old certainly as the fifth century B.C., while some small objects discovered near by may go back as far as the eighth century B.C. Of great significance also is the discovery near the southeast corner of the temple of Faustina, about eighteen feet below the imperial level, of several very ancient graves. In some cases the mode of burial was by cremation, in others by inhumation, the former being the older. None of these graves is later than the sixth century B.C., while some may be as early as the twelfth century B.C.; such at least is the opinion of Giacomo Boni, the director of the excavations. According to this there was human habitation here four hundred years before the traditional date of the founding of Rome (753 B.C.). For the description of these and other archaic remains the student is referred to Hülsen, *The Roman Forum*, Rome, 1906.

The charming legends which we read in the early books

of Livy's history were probably of comparatively late origin. Many of them were prompted by what is called the ætiological instinct, that is, the natural desire of man to explain by a story the origin of existing customs or monuments whose beginnings are lost in obscurity. A good illustration of such a myth is the legend that relates the seizure of the Sabine women by the Roman youths (1. 9, and see note). In the historical period, that is, in Livy's own time, it was customary, as a wedding procession passed along the street, for the bystanders to cry out, "Talassio, Talassio." Just why people said this, or what it meant, no one knew. Some one explained the origin of the custom by saying that when the Sabine women were being carried off by the Romans in the time of Romulus, a girl of especial beauty was seized by the attendants of a certain Talassius: then to the repeated inquiries for whom she was intended the answer was given, *Talassio*, that is, "for Talassius." "This," says Livy, "according to tradition, is the origin of the present nuptial cry." Another example of the ætiological myth is the explanation of the name of Silvius as *casu quodam in silvis natus* (1.3.6), or of the word Tiberis as derived from the name of a king, Tiberinus, *qui in traiectu Albulae amnis submersus celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit* (1. 3. 8). In the same way we may account for the legends of Remus leaping over the walls of Romulus (1. 7. 2) and of the fight between the Horatii and the Curiatii (1. 25).

The legends that cluster about the founding of Rome are particularly interesting and betray Greek influence. The primitive settlement was on the Palatine hill. Somewhere on the side toward the river was the Lupercal, a den or cave in which the wolf suckled the twins. The

cave was regarded with religious reverence, and the festival of the Lupercalia was celebrated even beyond Livy's time. The festival suggests the name of a deity, Lupercus, who protected the flocks (*lupus*, wolf, and *arceo*, ward off). This primitive community, then, was one of shepherds. Faustulus, who rescued the twins, was the 'favoring one' (*faveo*). With this name may be compared the name of the king, Evander, 'the good man' (εὖ, ἀνήρ). Evander, according to the myth, came from Arcadia in Greece, and the word Palatium was thought to have been derived from Pallanteum, Evander's native city; by this king was imported from Arcadia the worship of the Lycæan (λύκος, wolf) Pan, who, like Lupercus, protected the flocks. This mass of early myths represents the accretion of centuries, and for the most part its development cannot be traced. Many versions were current. For example, in addition to the story of Romulus and Remus, with which we are familiar, there were a score of other and entirely different legends that describe the founding of Rome. In reading these interesting stories we should remember that, while they do not relate actual history, they are nevertheless among the most charming creations of the human fancy.

Books of Reference. — A few books are here suggested which the student will find useful and interesting to read as he proceeds with the study of Livy.

(1) In connection with the legends and early history of Rome: —

Niebuhr, *The History of Rome*, new ed., trans. by J. C. Hare and C. Thirlwall, 3 vols. London, 1855.

Niebuhr, *Lectures on the History of Rome*, ed. 3, 3 vols. London, 1852–1853.

Mommsen, *History of Rome*, 5 vols., New York, especially Vol. I.

Duruy, *History of Rome*, 8 vols., Boston, 1890, especially Vol. I.
Shuckburgh, *A History of Rome to the Battle of Actium*. New York, 1898.
How and Leigh, *A History of Rome to the Death of Cæsar*. New York, 1896.
Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*. New York, 1893.
Morey, *Outlines of Roman History*. New York, 1900.
Botsford, *A History of Rome*. New York, 1902.
Ihne, *Early Rome*. New York, 1886.
Lewis, *On the Credibility of Early Roman History*, 2 vols. London, 1855.
Seeley, *Introduction to Livy, Book I*. Oxford, 1881.
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TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

PRAEFATIO

Facturusne operae pretium sim, si a primordio ur- 1
bis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio nec,
si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum 2
vulgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores
aut in rebus certius aliquid adlaturos se aut scribendi
arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Utcumque 3
erit, iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis
terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse;
et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro
sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini
officient meo, consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi 4
operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repeta-
tur et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut
iam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque
haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus
minus praebitura voluptatis sint festinantibus ad haec
nova, quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se
ipsae conficiunt; ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium 5
petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per
annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe, dum prisca illa tota
mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scri-
bentis animum etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen
efficere posset.

6 Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere
7 in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat; et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores: ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperium pa-
8 tiuntur. Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem
9 ponam discrimine: ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentes primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia
10 nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites.

11 Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit: adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat;
12 nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates de-

siderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique
omnia invexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae
futurae, cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe
tantae ordiendae rei absint; cum bonis potius ominibus 13
votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut
poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus,
ut orsis tantum operis successus prosperos darent.

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

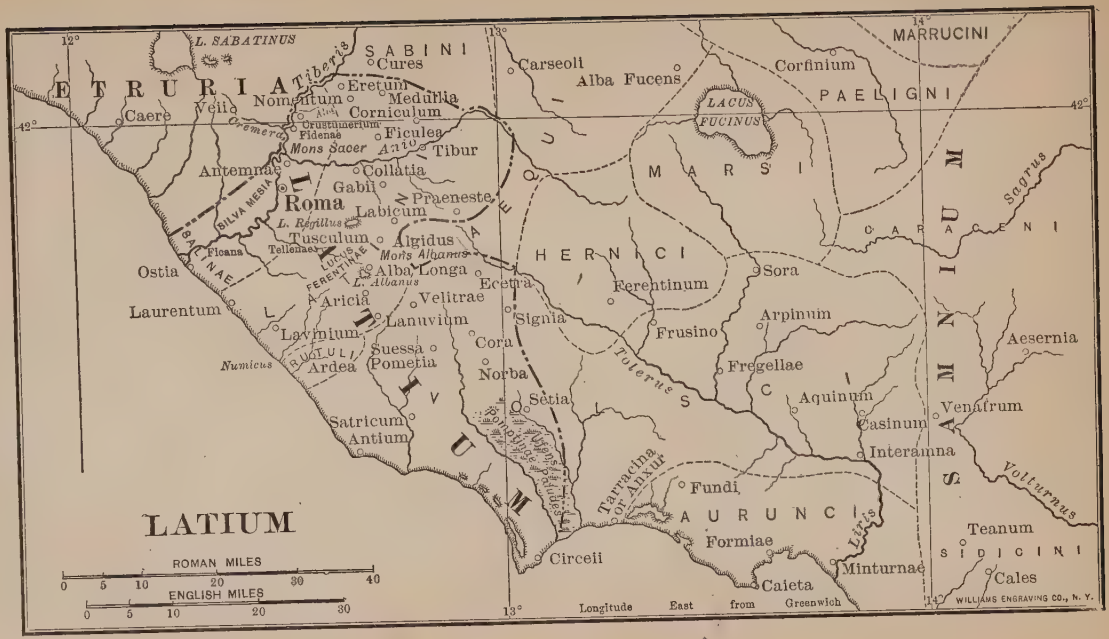
LIBER I

Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in 1
ceteros saevitum esse Troianos; duobus, Aeneae Antenorique, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse; casibus deinde variis Antenorem 2
cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum, Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsis 3
Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primum egressi sunt locum, Troia vocatur. Pagoque inde Troiano nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati.

Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora 4
rerum initia ducentibus fatis primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab immenso prope 5
errore nihil praeter arma et naves superesset, cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est: alii 6
proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt; alii, cum instructae acies con- 7

stitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad colloquium; percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum
8 Laurentem exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam, filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum dextra data fidem
9 futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam; Aeneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in
10 matrimonium data. Ea res utique Troianis spem adfirmat tandem stabili certaque sede finiendi erroris. Oppi-
11 dum condunt; Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

2 Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique simul petiti. Turnus, rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi adven[illegible] aegre pa-
2 tiens simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli; victores
3 Aborigines Troianique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque, regem eorum, confugiunt, qui Caere, opulento tum oppido, imperitans iam inde ab initio minime laetus novae origine urbis et tum nimio plus, quam satis tutum esset accolis, rem Troianam crescere ratus haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit.
4 Aeneas, adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret nec sub eodem iure solum sed


LATIUM
ETRURIA
SABINI
MARRUCINI
PAELIGNI
MARSI
HERNICI
AEQUI
CARACENI
SAMNIUM
AURUNCI
SIDICINI
LATIUM
L. SABATINUS
Tiberis
Cures
Eretum
Nomentum
Medullia
Corniculum
Crustumerium
Fidenae
Ficulea
Tibur
Caere
Veii
Cremera
Mons Sacer
Anio
Antemnae
Collatia
Gabii
Roma
Praeneste
Labicum
L. Regillus
Tusculum
Algidus
Mons Albanus
Alba Longa
L. Albanus
Ficana
Tellenae
Ostia
Laurentum
Aricia
Velitrae
Lanuvium
Lavinium
Suessa
Pometia
Ardea
Numicus
Satricum
Antium
Ecetra
Signia
Cora
Norba
Setia
Circeii
Carseoli
Alba Fucens
Corfinium
LACUS FUCINUS
Ferentinum
Frusino
Sora
Arpinum
Fregellae
Aquinum
Casinum
Interamna
Venafrum
Aesernia
Teanum
Cales
Minturnae
Formiae
Caieta
Fundi
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etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac 5
fide erga regem Aeneam cessere. Fretusque his animis
coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implesset, tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae 6
etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quemcumque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum flumen; Iovem Indigetem appellant.

Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius, Aeneae filius, 3
erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume mansit; tantisper tutela muliebri — tanta indoles in Lavinia erat — res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud ambigam — quis 2
enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet? —, hicine fuerit Ascanius an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre 3
genitus — certe natum Aenea constat —, abundante Lavini multitudine florentem iam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata. Inter 4
Lavinium *conditum* et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant maxime fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni movere arma aut Mezentius

5 Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset.

6 Silvius deinde regnat, Ascani filius, casu quodam in silvis natus. Is Aeneam Silvium creat; is deinde La-
7 tinum Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci
8 Latini appellati. Mansit Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, qui Albae regnaverunt. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus qui in traiectu Albulae amnis submersus celebre ad
9 posteros nomen flumini dedit. Agrippa inde, Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius a patre accepto imperio regnant. Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit. Is sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc
10 pars Romanae est urbis, cognomen colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat; Numitori, qui stirps maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia aetatis. Pulso
11 fratre Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus; stirpem fratris virilem interimit; fratris filiae Reae Silviae per speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

4 Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium.
2 Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat,
3 Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant; sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur;
4 pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet. Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec

adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis et posse
quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus
dabat. Ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima 5
eluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est — Romularem
vocatam ferunt —, pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in 6
his locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem
alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua
destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus, qui circa
sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam sum-
missas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse mammas,
ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris in-
venerit — Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt —; ab eo ad 7
stabula Larentiae uxori educandos datos. Sunt qui
Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam
putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, 8
nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrare
saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam 9
non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda
onustos impetus facere pastoribusque rapta dividere
et cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos
celebrare.

Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum 5
ferunt et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein
Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex 2
eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit
loca, sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi
iuvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque
lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt
Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum 3
esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum
Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum

4 regi Amulio tradidisse ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetus fieri; inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur.

5 Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem aperire noluerat. Necessitas prior
6 venit; ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique
7 regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum — nec enim erat ad vim apertam par —, sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant.

6 Numitor inter primum tumultum hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni
2 seque eius auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

3 Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remum-

que cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe, quae conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde foedum certamen, coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt. 4

Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures, 7
iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat: tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi 2
certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur; ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset 'sic deinde, quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea,' interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs con- 3
ditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. 4
Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euandro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone interempto boves mira specie abegisse memorant ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens nando traiecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. Ibi 5

cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola eius loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, 6 caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro armentum 7 occepit. Inde cum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem cum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans morte occubuit.

8 Euander tum ea profugus ex Peloponneso auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines, venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae 9 eae gentes fuerant. Is tum Euander concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis excitus postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque humana intuens rogitat, qui vir esset. 10 Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, 'Iove nate, Hercules, salve' inquit; 'te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit tibique aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in

terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat.' Dextra 11
Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata
ara condita ac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia 12
capta de grege sacrum Herculi adhibitis ad ministerium
dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime
inclitae ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte ita evenit, 13
ut Potitii ad tempus praesto essent iisque exta appo-
nerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem.
Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit,
ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii ab Euandro 14
edocti antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt,
donec tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae minis-
terio genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra 15
Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum
immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata
ducebant, fautor.

Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad con- 8
cilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius
corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura de-
dit; quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, 2
si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum
cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus
duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae 3
augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum
putant; me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus
et apparitores hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella
curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, *et* numerum
quoque ipsum ductum placet et ita habuisse Etruscos,
quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege
singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.

Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia 4
adpetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis

quam ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde, ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Cum iam virium haud paeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari patres possent. Patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.

9 Iam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem conubiumque novo populo peterent: urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere; satis scire origini Romanae et deos adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem; proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita est; adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent; id enim demum compar conubium fore.

Aegre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad vim

spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut
daret Romulus aegritudinem animi dissimulans ludos
ex industria parat Neptuno equestri sollemnis; Con-
sualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet, 7
quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant, con-
celebrant, ut rem claram expectatamque facerent. Multi 8
mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis,
maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, An-
temnates; iam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis 9
ac coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos
cum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vi-
dissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse.
Ubi spectaculi tempus venit deditaeque eo mentes cum 10
oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis, signoque dato
iuventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna 11
pars forte, in quem quaeque inciderat, raptae; quasdam
forma excellentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex
plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos
deferebant: unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchri- 12
tudine insignem a globo Talassi cuiusdam raptam ferunt,
multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam eam ferrent, identi-
dem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum; inde
nuptialem hanc vocem factam.

Turbato per metum ludicro maesti parentes virginum 13
profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii scelus deumque
invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per fas ac fidem
decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior 14
aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumibat
docebatque patrum id superbia factum, qui conubium
finitimis negassent; illas tamen in matrimonio, in socie-
tate fortunarum omnium civitatisque et, quo nihil carius
humano generi sit, liberum fore; mollirent modo iras 15

et, quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Saepe ex iniuria postmodum gratiam ortam, eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod adnisurus pro se quisque sit, ut, cum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentium etiam
16 patriaeque expleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

10 Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad T. Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum Tati nomen in iis regionibus erat, convenie-
2 bant. Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi
3 communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Caeni-
4 num in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus levique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur; regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliat; duce hostium occiso urbem primo impetu capit.

5 Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis fines cognomenque addi-

dit deo. 'Iuppiter Feretri,' inquit, 'haec tibi victor 6
Romulus rex regia arma fero templumque his regio-
nibus quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem
opimis spoliis, quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis
me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent.' Haec templi 7
est origo, quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est.
Ita deinde diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi
vocem esse, qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit,
nec multitudine compotum eius doni vulgari laudem.
Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella opima parta sunt
spolia; adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.

Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus 11
per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Ro-
manos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana
legio ducta palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo 2
impetu et clamore hostes; oppidum captum; duplici-
que victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia coniunx pre-
cibus raptarum fatigata orat, ut parentibus earum det
veniam et in civitatem accipiat; ita rem coalescere
concordia posse. Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crus- 3
tuminos profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam,
quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit.
Utroque coloniae missae; plures inventi, qui propter 4
ubertatem terrae in Crustuminum nomina darent. Et
Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus
maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id 5
maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem
actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intule-
runt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpeius Ro- 6
manae praeerat arci. Huius filiam virginem auro cor-
rumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat; aquam

7 forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat. Accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam
8 fidum proditori esset. Additur fabula, quod vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis bracchio laevo gemmatosque magna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam, quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis,
9 donis congesta. Sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi, quod in sinistris manibus esset, derecto arma petisse dicant et fraude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.
12 Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini atque inde postero die, cum Romanus exercitus instructus quod inter Palatinum Capitolinumque collem campi est complesset, non prius descenderunt in aequum, quam ira et cupiditate recuperandae arcis stimulante animos in adversum
2 Romani subiere. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant, ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa
3 animo atque audacia sustinebat. Ut Hostius cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies fusaque est ad veterem
4 portam Palati. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus arma ad caelum tollens 'Iuppiter, tuis' inquit 'iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci. Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent; inde
5 huc armati superata media valle tendunt; at tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terro-
6 rem Romanis fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua
7 praesenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.' Haec precatus, velut si sensisset auditas preces, 'hinc' inquit, 'Romani, Iuppiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iubet.'

Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce iussi; ipse
ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab 8
Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat et effusos egerat
Romanos, toto quantum foro spatium est. Nec procul
iam a porta Palati erat clamitans: 'vicimus perfidos
hospites, imbelles hostes; iam sciunt longe aliud esse
virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris.' In eum 9
haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissimorum iuvenum
Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius
pugnabat; eo pelli facilius fuit. Pulsum Romani per-
sequuntur; et alia Romana acies audacia regis accensa
fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese strepitu se- 10
quentium trepidante equo coniecit; averteratque ea
res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem
adnuentibus ac vocantibus suis favore multorum addito
animo evadit; Romani Sabinique in media convalle
duorum montium redintegrant proelium. Sed res Ro-
mana erat superior.

Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum 13
ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste victo malis
muliebri pavore ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex
transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere 2
iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine ne-
fando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio ma-
cularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum progeniem.
'Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos vertite 3
iras; nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac caedium viris
ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam sine
alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus.' Movet 4
res cum multitudinem tum duces; silentium et repen-
tina fit quies; inde ad foedus faciendum duces pro-
deunt; nec pacem modo, sed civitatem unam ex dua-

bus faciunt. Regnum consociant; imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

6 Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque, cum populum in curias triginta divi-
7 deret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte
8 lectae sint, quae nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt: Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo commune sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.

14 Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tati legatos Laurentium pulsant, cumque Laurentes iure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus
2 poterant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit; nam Lavini, cum ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, con-
3 cursu facto interficitur. Eam rem minus aegre, quam dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud iniuria caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum iniuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.

4 Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat; aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati,

priusquam tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Iuventute armata immissa vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est. Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem illatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus Romulus — neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat — exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto egressus omnibus copiis, partem militum locis circa densa virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis iussit; cum parte maiore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae, adequitando ipsis prope portis hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu pedes quoque referret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes impulsa Romana acie studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem; addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum, qui in praesidio relicti fuerant; ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates prius paene, quam Romulus quique cum eo erant circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt; multoque effusius, quippe vera fuga, qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuere se hosti; haerens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum obicerentur, velut agmine uno irrumpit.

Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate — nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci

fuerunt —, et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat, in fines Romanos excucurrerunt populabundi magis quam
2 iusti more belli. Itaque non castris positis, non exspectato hostium exercitu raptam ex agris praedam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae in-
3 structus intentusque Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere, obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quam
4 inclusi de tectis moenibusque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte adiutis tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes urbe valida muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit; agros
5 rediens vastat ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio. Eaque clade haud minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem petitum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum annos indutiae datae.

6 Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendae urbis consilium,
7 non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit, uti in quadraginta deinde
8 annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis: trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit.

16 His immortalibus editis operibus cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore

tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, 2
postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio 3
facto deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem.

Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum 4
regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent; manavit enim haec quoque, sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Et consilio 5
etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor, in contionem prodit. 'Romulus' inquit, 'Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitissem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset, 'abi, nuntia,' inquit, 'Romanis 7
caelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.' 'Haec' inquit 'locutus sublimis abiit.' 8
Mirum, quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.

Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido 17

versabat. Necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat; factionibus inter
2 ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tati mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequam possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant; Romani veteres pere-
3 grinum regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant libertatis dulcedine non-
4 dum experta. Timor deinde patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce multarum circa civitatium irritatis animis vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo alteri
5 concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum patres decem decuriis factis singulisque in singulas decurias creatis, qui summae rerum praeessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant; unus cum insignibus
6 imperii et lictoribus erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annuumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum appellatum.

7 Fremere deinde plebs multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos: nec ultra nisi regem et
8 ab ipsis creatum videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum ultro rati, quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt summa potestate populo per-
9 missa, ut non plus darent iuris, quam retinerent. Decreverunt enim, ut, cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem ius vi adempta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores
10 fiunt. Tum interrex contione advocata 'quod bonum,

faustum felixque sit,' inquit, 'Quirites, regem create; ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur, crearitis, auctores fient.' Adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio 11
viderentur, id modo sciscerent iuberentque, ut senatus decerneret, qui Romae regnaret.

Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pom- 18
pili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris. Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia 2
non extat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae, centum amplius post annos, in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem 3
aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset, quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset? Suopte igitur in- 4
genio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit.

Audito nomine Numae patres Romani, quamquam 5
inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augu- 6
rato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit,

deductus in arcem in lapide ad meridiem versus con-
7 sedit. Augur ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes,
8 laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum lituo in laevam manum translato dextra in caput
9 Numae imposita precatus ita est: 'Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines, quos feci.' Tum peregit verbis auspicia,
10 quae mitti vellet. Quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

19 Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro
2 condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pa-
3 catos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace
4 terra marique parta. Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem

imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse; eius se monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere.

Atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim menses discribit annum; quem, quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo anno ad metam eandem solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum spatiis dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime, quae nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino; virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit, virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit. Pon-

tificem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex patribus legit eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia
6 erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset, quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios
7 ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur; nec caelestes modo caerimonias sed iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

21 Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et deorum adsidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac ius iurandum pro obnoxio legum ac poenarum metu civitatem rege-
2 rent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis velut unici exempli mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violare ducerent nefas.

3 Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua. Quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum
4 coniuge sua Egeria essent. Et Fidei sollemne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato

vehi iussit manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum eius operum fuit tutela per omne regni tempus haud minor pacis quam regni.

Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus iussit; patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum aetas viresque tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat. Forte evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano praedas in vicem agerent. Imperitabat tum C. Cluilius Albae. Utrimque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis, ne quid prius quam mandata agerent; satis sciebat negaturum Albanum; ita pie bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis socordius res acta: excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne, comiter regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores et neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi omnium ignari primum purgando

terunt tempus: se invitos quicquam, quod minus placeat
Tullo, dicturos, sed imperio subigi: res repetitum se
7 venisse; ni reddantur, bellum indicere iussos. Ad haec
Tullus 'nuntiate,' inquit, 'regi vestro regem Romanum
deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes
legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant
huiusce clades belli.'

23 Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque. Troianam utramque prolem, cum Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio Alba, ab
2 Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit quod nec acie certatum est et tectis modo dirutis ali-
3 terius urbis duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia passuum locant; fossa circumdant; fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est, donec
4 cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius, Albanus rex, moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium creant.

Interim Tullus ferox, praecipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen ab ipso capite orsum in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum poenas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis
5 excivit Mettium. Ducit quam proxime ad hostem potest. Inde legatum praemissum nuntiare Tullo iubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio: si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum, quae nihilo minus ad rem Romanam quam ad Albanam pertineant.

Haud aspernatus Tullus, tamen, si vana adferantur, 6
in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani.

Postquam structi utrimque stabant, cum paucis
procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit Al- 7
banus: 'iniurias et non redditas res ex foedere quae
repetitae sint et ego regem nostrum Cluilium causam
huiusce esse belli audisse videor nec te dubito, Tulle,
eadem prae te ferre; sed si vera potius quam dictu
speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos
vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque recte an 8
perperam, interpretor; fuerit ista eius deliberatio, qui
bellum suscepit; me Albani gerendo bello ducem crea-
vere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim: Etrusca res
quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Tuscis,
hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum mari pol-
lent. Memor esto, iam cum signum pugnae dabis, 9
has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque,
simul victorem ac victum, adgrediantur. Itaque, si
nos di amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa in
dubiam imperii servitiique aleam imus, ineamus aliquam
viam, qua, utri utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine
multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit.' Haud 10
displicet res Tullo, quamquam cum indole animi tum
spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio
initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit materiam.

Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini **24**
fratres nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Cu-
riatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua
alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error
manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint.
Auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio, qui
Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinat

animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur; tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cuius populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret.

Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit: 'iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus ferire?' Iubente rege 'sagmina,' inquit, 'te, rex, posco.' Rex ait: 'puram tollito.' Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit: 'rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, vasa comitesque meos?' Rex respondit: 'quod sine fraude mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio.' Fetialis erat M. Valerius; is patrem patratum Sp. Fusium fecit verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum id est sanciendum fit foedus multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis 'audi,' inquit, 'Iuppiter, audi, pater patrate populi Albani, audi tu, populus Albanus: ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum illo die, Diespiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque.' Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice per-

cussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque ius iurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

Foedere icto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma ca- 25
piunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suopte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant 2
utrimque pro castris duo exercitus periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animos intendunt.

Datur signum infestisque armis velut acies terni 3
iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo 4
statim concursu concrepuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit; et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde 5
manibus cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis exspirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus 6
exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut uni- 7
versis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam,

ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere adfectum cor-
8 pus sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes; unum haud procul ab sese abesse.
9 In eum magno impetu rediit, et dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatios, uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adiuvant militem suum; et ille defungi proelio festinat.
0 Prius itaque, quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit; iamque aequato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat; alter fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus victusque
12 fratrum ante se strage victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exsultans 'duos,' inquit, 'fratrum Manibus dedi; tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.' Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit; iacentem spoliat.
13 Romani, ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt eo maiore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis
14 alienae facti. Sepulcra exstant, quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.
26 Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettio, ex foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus, uti iuventutem in armis habeat; usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veientibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti.

Princeps Horatius ibat trigemina spolia prae se gerens; cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit: cognitoque super umeros fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Movet feroci iuveni animum comploratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio simul verbis increpans transfigit puellam. 'Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum,' inquit, 'oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat, quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem.' Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstabat. Tamen raptus in ius ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tamen tristis ingratique ad vulgus iudicii ac secundum iudicium supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato 'duumviros,' inquit, 'qui Horatio perduellionem iudicent, secundum legem facio.' Lex horrendi carminis erat: duumviri perduellionem iudicent; si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato; si vincent, caput obnubito; infelici arbori reste suspendito; verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium. Hac lege duumviri creati. Qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex iis 'P. Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico' inquit; 'i, lictor, colliga manus.' Accesserat lictor iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, 'provoco' inquit. Ita provocatione certatum ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in eo iudicio maxime P. Horatio patre proclamante se filiam iure caesam iudicare; ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe con-

10 spexissent, orbum liberis facerent. Inter haec senex iuvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc pila Horatia appellatur, ostentans 'huncine' aiebat, 'quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? Quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent.
11 I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius; arbore infelici suspende; verbera vel intra pomerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatiorum. Quo enim ducere hunc iuvenem potestis, ubi non sua
12 decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent?' Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum, absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis quam iure causae. Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum
13 patri, ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo capite adoperto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet; sororium
14 tigillum vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

27 Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerat, vanum ingenium dictatoris corrupit et, quoniam recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium
2 animos coepit. Igitur, ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque

ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos, suis per speciem societatis proditionem reservat.

Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis pacto transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus Mettio exercituque eius ab Alba accito contra hostes ducit. Ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentes collocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu; in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem derigit suos, Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit; inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium erat, qua fortuna rem daret, ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques citato equo nuntiat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equitem clara increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire in proelium iubet: nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo iussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant; item imperat, ut hastas equites erigerent. Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit; qui viderant, id, quod ab rege auditum erat, rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit; et audiverant clara voce dictum, et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latine sciebant. Itaque, ne

subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus fusoque Fidenatium cornu in Veientem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum, sed ab effusa
11 fuga flumen obiectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga inclinavit, alii arma foede iactantes in aquam caeci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

28 Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur; contra Tullus Mettium benigne adloquitur. Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet; sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat.
2 Ubi illuxit, paratis omnibus, ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum iubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi primos excivere Albanos. Hi novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum contionantem audi-
3 rent, proximi constitere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana legio; centurionibus datum negotium
4 erat, ut sine mora imperia exsequerentur. Tum ita Tullus infit: 'Romani, si umquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit, quod primum dis immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior est, cum
5 proditione ac perfidia sociorum. Nam ne vos falsa opinio teneat, iniussu meo Albani subiere ad montes, nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit, ut nec vobis ignorantibus deseri vos averteretur a certamine animus et hostibus circum-
6 veniri se ab tergo ratis terror ac fuga inicereturNec

ea culpa, quam arguo, omnium Albanorum est; ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris huius, Mettius idem huius machinator belli, Mettius foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam documentum mortalibus dedero.' Centuriones armati Mettium circumsistunt; 7
rex cetera, ut orsus erat, peragit: 'quod bonum, faustum felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est, civitatem dare plebi, primores in patres legere, unam urbem, unam rem publicam facere. Ut ex uno quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in unum redeat.'

Ad haec Albana pubes inermis ab armatis saepta 8
in variis voluntatibus communi tamen metu cogente silentium tenet. Tum Tullus 'Metti Fufeti' inquit, 9
'si ipse discere posses fidem ac fœdera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset; nunc, quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere, quae a te violata sunt. Ut igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim distrahendum dabis.' Exinde duabus admotis 10
quadrigis in currus earum distentum illigat Mettium, deinde in diversum iter equi concitati lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate specta- 11
culi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit; in aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

29 Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde 2 ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet; 3 sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu [obliti], quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi 4 domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervagarentur. Ut vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat, iam fragor tectorum, quae diruebantur, ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes 5 exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent ac velut captos relinquerent deos. 6 Egressis urbe Albanis Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit; templis tamen deum — ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat — temperatum est.

30 Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis. Duplicatur civium numerus; Caelius additur urbi mons, et, quo frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit 2 ibique deinde habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres,

ut ea quoque pars rei publicae cresceret, legit: Iulios, Servilios, Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios; templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est. Et ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adiceretur, equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres eodem supplemento explevit et novas scripsit. 3

Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit, genti ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissimae viris armisque. Utrimque iniuriae factae ac res nequiquam erant repetitae: Tullus ad Feroniae fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos querebatur, Sabini suos prius in lucum confugisse ac Romae retentos. Hae causae belli ferebantur. Sabini, haud parum memores et suarum virium partem Romae ab Tatio locatam et Romanam rem nuper etiam adiectione populi Albani auctam, circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde ob residuas bellorum iras maxime sollicitatis ad defectionem animis voluntarios traxere, et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit; publico auxilio nullo adiuti sunt, valuitque apud Veientes — nam de ceteris minus mirum est — pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides. Cum bellum utrimque summa ope pararent vertique in eo res videretur, utri prius arma inferrent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad silvam Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterum equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repente invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum; nec pugna deinde illis constare nec fuga explicari sine magna caede potuit. 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

31 Devictis Sabinis cum in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus
2 pluvisse. Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu haud aliter, quam cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri
3 cecidere caelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae velut diis quoque simul cum patria relictis oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant aut fortunae, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant
4 deum. Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publice susceptum est, seu voce caelesti ex Albano monte missa — nam id quoque traditur — seu haruspicum monitu; mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.

5 Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Unde cum pigritia militandi oreretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae quam domi iuvenum corpora esse, donec ipse
6 quoque longinquo morbo est implicitus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret religionibusque etiam
7 populum impleret. Vulgo iam homines eum statum rerum, qui sub Numa rege fuerat, requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque ab
8 diis impetrata esset, credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam occulta sollemnia sacrificia Iovi Elicio facta invenisset,

operatum iis sacris se abdidisse; sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam caelestium speciem, sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasse. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum iam inde ab initio **32**
erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia habente Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres fuere auctores. Numae Pompili regis nepos, filia ortus, Ancus Marcius erat. Qui ut regnare 2
coepit, et avitae gloriae memor et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus aut prave cultis, longe antiquissimum ratus sacra publica, ut ab Numa instituta erant, facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem in album relata proponere in publico iubet. Inde et civibus otii cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum.

Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum foedus 3
erat, sustulerant animos et, cum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati. Medium 4
erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli memor; et praeterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam quod illi contigisset otium sine iniuria, id se haud facile habiturum; temptari patientiam et temptatam contemni, temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numae. Ut tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, 5
a se bellicae caerimoniae proderentur nec gererentur solum, sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, ius ab

antiqua gente Aequiculis, quod nunc fetiales habent,
6 descripsit, quo res repetuntur. Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo — lanae velamen est — 'audi, Iuppiter,' inquit; 'audite, fines' — cuiuscumque gentis sunt, nominat —; 'audiat fas: ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani; iuste pieque legatus venio verbisque meis fides sit.' Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Iovem testem facit: 'si ego iniuste impieque illos homines illasque res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me numquam siris
8 esse.' Haec, cum fines superscandit, haec, quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus paucis verbis carminis concipiendique
9 iuris iurandi mutatis peragit. Si non deduntur, quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta — tot enim sollemnes
10 sunt — peractis bellum ita indicit: 'audi, Iuppiter, et tu, Iane Quirine, diique omnes caelestes vosque, terrestres, vosque, inferni, audite: ego vos testor populum illum' — quicumque est, nominat — 'iniustum esse neque ius persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria maiores natu consulemus, quo pacto ius nostrum adipiscamur.' Tum is nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit.

11 Confestim rex his ferme verbis patres consulebat: 'quarum rerum, litium, causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari, solvi, fieri oportuit, dic' inquit ei, quem primum sen-
12 tentiam rogabat, 'quid censes?' Tum ille: 'puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo itaque consentio consciscoque.' Inde ordine alii rogabantur; quandoque pars maior eorum, qui aderant, in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum

erat consensum. Fieri solitum, ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret et non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus diceret: 'quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci 13
Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit esse senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque.' Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab 14
Latinis repetitae res ac bellum indictum, moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

Ancus demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacer- **33**
dotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto profectus Politorium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit secutusque morem regum priorum qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit, et cum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem Albani implessent, Aventinum novae multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud ita multo post, Tellenis Ficanaque captis, novi cives. Politorium inde 3
rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini; eaque causa diruendae urbis eius fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Pos- 4
tremo omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto varia victoria pugnatum est; nam et urbs tuta munitionibus praesidioque firmata valido erat, et castris in aperto positis aliquotiens exercitus Latinus comminus cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad 5

ultimum omnibus copiis conisus Ancus acie primum vincit; inde ingenti praeda potens Romam redit, tum quoque multis milibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis, quibus, ut iungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciae datae sedes.

6 Ianiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit. 7 Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a 8 planioribus aditu locis Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis cum in tanta multitudine hominum discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscen- 9 tis audaciae media urbe imminens foro aedificatur. Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque: silva Mesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretrii amplificata.

34 Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis — nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat — facultas non fuerat. 2 Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium heres; Arruns prior quam pater moritur uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; 3 qui cum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem

in nullam sortem bonorum nato ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra omnium heredi bonorum cum divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in ma- 4
trimonium Tanaquil summo loco nata et quae haud facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea, quo innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exsule 5
advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa: in novo populo, ubi 6
omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum et cui Tar- 7
quinii materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam.

Ad Ianiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento 8
sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leniter alis pilleum aufert superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans rursus velut ministerio divinitus missa capiti apte reponit; inde sublimis abit. Accepisse id 9
augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, caelestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum iubet: eam alitem, ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam venisse, circa summum culmen hominis auspicium fecisse, levasse humano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet. Has spes 10
cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi sunt domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinium Priscum edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas di- 11
vitiaeque faciebant; et ipse fortunam benigno adlo-

quio, comitate invitandi beneficiisque, quos poterat, sibi conciliando adiuvabat, donec in regiam quoque de
12 eo fama perlata est. Notitiamque eam brevi apud regem liberaliter dextereque obeundo officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

35 Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando
2 fierent; quibus indictis sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis
3 animos compositam: se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum adfectet; et Tatium non ex peregrino solum sed etiam ex hoste regem factum, et Numam ignarum urbis non
4 petentem in regnum ultro accitum: se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; maiorem partem aetatis eius, qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae se quam in ve-
5 tere patria vixisse; domi militiaeque sub haud paenitendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se iura, Romanos ritus didicisse; obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso
6 certasse. Haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare iussit. Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui fir-

mandi quam augendae rei publicae memor centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis, cuius beneficio in curiam venerant.

Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit et oppidum ibi 7
Apiolas vi cepit praedaque inde maiore, quam quanta belli fama fuerat, revecta ludos opulentius instructiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tum primum circo, 8
qui nunc maximus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent; fori appellati. Spectavere furcis duo- 9
denos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque, ex Etruria maxime accīti. Sollemnes, deinde annui, mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa 10
forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca; porticus tabernaeque factae.

Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, **36**
cum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita res fuit, ut prius Anienem transirent hostes, quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romae est, et primo dubia 2
victoria magna utrimque caede pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum Tarquinius, equitem maxime suis deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes, Titienses, Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit suoque insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat, negare 3
Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, 'age- 4

dum' inquit, 'divine tu, inaugura, fierine possit, quod nunc ego mente concipio.' Cum ille augurio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, 'atqui hoc animo agitavi' inquit, 'te novacula cotem discissurum; cape haec et perage, quod aves tuae fieri posse portendunt.' Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt.
5 Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est in comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit; cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset
6 ad posteros miraculi eius monumentum. Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur, concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, ubi aves non
7 admisissent, dirimerentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero alterum tantum adiecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in tribus
8 centuriis essent — posteriores modo sub iisdem nominibus, qui additi erant, appellati sunt —, quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias.

37 Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus missis, qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa iacentem ardentem in flumen conicerent: ventoque iuvante accensa ligna et pleraque, in ratibus, impacta sublicis
2 cum haererent, pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis et fusis eadem fugam impediit; multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periere; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius paene, quam nuntiari
3 posset, insignem victoriam fecere. Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit: utrimque ab cornibus positos, cum

iam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium — id votum Vulcano erat — ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porro in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere; et quamquam male gesta res erat nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario milite iterumque ibi fusi perditis iam prope rebus pacem petiere.

Collatia et quidquid citra Collatiam agri erat, Sabinis ademptum; Egerius — fratris hic filius erat regis — Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio eamque deditionis formulam esse; rex interrogavit: 'estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Collatino, ut vos populumque Collatinum dederetis?' 'Sumus.' 'Estne populus Collatinus in sua potestate?' 'Est.' 'Deditisne vos populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populique Romani dicionem?' 'Dedimus.' 'At ego recipio.' Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam redit. Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit. Ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem ventum est; ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant, capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta.

5 Maiore inde animo pacis opera inchoata, quam quanta
mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset,
6 quam militiae fuisset; nam et muro lapideo, cuius ex-
ordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, qua
nondum munierat, cingere parat et infima urbis loca
circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia
ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis
fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccat et aream ad aedem
7 in Capitolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam
praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci
occupat fundamentis.

39 Eo tempore in regia prodigium visu eventuque mi-
rabile fuit: puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit no-
men, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Plu-
2 rimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto
excitos reges, et cum quidam familiarium aquam ad
restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque
eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum, donec sua sponte
3 experrectus esset. Mox cum somno et flammam ab-
isse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil 'viden
tu puerum hunc' inquit, 'quem tam humili cultu edu-
camus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris
dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae adflictae; proinde
materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni
indulgentia nostra nutriamus.'

4 Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi erudiri-
que artibus, quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum
excitantur. Evenit facile, quod diis cordi esset: iu-
venis evasit vere indolis regiae, nec, cum quaereretur
gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae iuventutis ulla
arte conferri potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit.
5 Hic quacumque de causa tantus illi honos habitus cre-

dere prohibet serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum, qui Corniculo capto Servi Tulli, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romae edidisse *in* Prisci Tarquini domo; inde tanto beneficio et inter 6
mulieres familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur, fecisse.

Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare **40**
coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro in- 2
dignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret reg- 3
num, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quod Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus serva natus possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva non modo advenis sed servis etiam regnum Romae pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. 4
Sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat, et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus, tum Servio occiso quemcumque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem facturus videbatur, ob haec 5

ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt; inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam per-
6 venisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter alteri obstrepere; coerciti ab lictore et iussi in vicem dicere tandem obloqui desis-
7 tunt; unus rem ex composito orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.

41 Tarquinium moribundum cum, qui circa erant, excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi, mirantium, quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eicit. Simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul, si de-
2 stituat spes, alia praesidia molitur. Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum in-
3 imicis ludibrio esse sinat. 'Tuum est' inquit, 'Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excitet flamma, nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus; qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere.'

4 Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Novam viam versas — habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Sta-

toris — populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo 5
esse: sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu; ferrum haud
alte in corpus descendisse; iam ad se redisse; inspec-
tum vulnus absterso cruore; omnia salubria esse; con-
fidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio
Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura
redditurum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius 6
cum trabea et lictoribus prodit ac sede regia sedens
alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simu-
lat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum iam exspirasset
Tarquinius, celata morte per speciem alienae fungendae
vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam factum
est comploratione in regia orta. Servius praesidio firmo
munitus primus iniussu populi voluntate patrum regna-
vit. Anci liberi iam tum, cum comprensis sceleris 7
ministris vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servi nun-
tiatum est, Suessam Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam pri- 42
vatis munire opes et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus
adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini
liberum esset, duas filias iuvenibus regiis, Lucio atque
Arrunti Tarquiniis, iungit; nec rupit tamen fati neces- 2
sitatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam
inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret.

Peropportune ad praesentis quietem status bellum
cum Veientibus — iam enim indutiae exierant — aliis-
que Etruscis sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et for- 3
tuna enituit Tulli; fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu
haud dubius rex, seu patrum seu plebis animos peri-
clitaretur, Romam rediit.

Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, 4
ut, quem ad modum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisset,

ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque
5 aliquid interlucet, posteri fama ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim, ut ante, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent; tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu discripsit vel paci decorum vel bello.
43 Ex iis, qui centum milium aeris aut maiorem censum haberent, octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas seni-
2 orum ac iuniorum; prima classis omnes appellati; seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere, haec, ut tegumenta cor-
3 poris essent; tela in hostem hastaque et gladius. Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus, ut machinas in bello
4 ferrent. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta milium censum instituta, et ex iis, senioribus iunioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae. Arma imperata scutum pro clipeo et praeter loricam
5 omnia eadem. Tertiae classis quinquaginta milium censum esse voluit; totidem centuriae et hae eodemque discrimine aetatium factae. Nec de armis quicquam
6 mutatum, ocreae tantum ademptae. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium; totidem centuriae factae. Arma mutata, nihil praeter hastam et verutum
7 datum. Quinta classis aucta; centuriae triginta factae. Fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. His accensi cornicines tubicinesque, in duas centurias
8 distributi. Undecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit; inde una centuria facta est immunis militia.

Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, 9 sub iisdem, quibus inauguratae erant, nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena milia aeris ex publico data, et, quibus equos alerent, viduae adtributae, quae bina milia aeris in annos singulos penderent.

Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera. 10 Deinde est honos additus; non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim suffragium eadem vi eodemque iure promisce omnibus datum est, sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset. Equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae 11 classis centuriae; ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut secundae classis vocarentur; nec fere umquam infra ita descenderunt, ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari 12 oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus duplicato earum numero centuriis iuniorum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrifariam 13 enim urbe divisa regionibus collibusque, qui habitabantur, partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitror, ab tributo; nam eius quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est; neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinuere.

Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de in- **44** censis latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit, ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis in campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustra- 2

vit; idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur; adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum, qui arma ferre possent, eum numerum fuisse.

3 Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circum-
4 dat urbem; ita pomerium profert. Pomerium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmoerium interpretantur esse; est autem magis circamoerium, locus, quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri ali-
5 quid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis, quod post murum esset, quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellarunt; et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

45 Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis
2 opes adquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum; id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter proceres Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria iunxerat. Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum Dianae

AGER VATICANUS
CAMPUS MARTIUS
TIBER RIVER
1 Arx
2 Temple of Jupiter
3 Temple of Saturn
4. Temple of Castor and Pollux.
5 Temple of Vesta
6 Forum
7 Comitium
8 Senate House
9 Mouth of Cloaca Maxima
10 Temple of Jupiter Stator
11 Saxum Tarpeium
NAVALIA
PRATA QUINCTIA
INSULA
PRATA FLAMINIA
MONS CAPITOLINUS
Porta Flumentana
Ianiculum
VELABRUM VICUS
Ara Tuscus
Maxima
Lupercal
MONS PALATINUS
CIRCUS MAXIMUS
T. Diamae
MONS AVENTINUS
Porta Capena
Porta Naevia
WALL OF SERVIUS
VALLIS CAMENARUM (EGERIAE)
MONS CAELIUS
Porta Mugonia
VIA SACRA
VICUS CYPRIUS
CLIVUS ORBIUS
CARINAE
ESQUILIAE
SUBURA
ARGILETUM
COLLIS QUIRINALIS
COLLIS VIMINALIS
Porta Salutaris
Porta Viminalis
Porta Esquilina
VIA GABINA
VIA NOMENTANA
Porta Collina
WALL AND AGGER OF SERVIUS
WILLIAMS ENGRAVING CO., N. Y.

populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat 3
confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens
armis certatum fuerat. Id quamquam omissum iam
ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infeliciter
temptatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare
visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi. Bos in 4
Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur miranda
magnitudine ac specie; fixa per multas aetates cornua
in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere mira-
culo. Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est; et cecinere 5
vates, cuius civitatis eam civis Dianae immolasset,
ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad an-
tistitem fani Dianae. Sabinusque, ut prima apta dies 6
sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad
fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Ro-
manus, cum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama
movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita adloquitur:
'quidnam tu, hospes, paras?' inquit 'inceste sacrificium
Dianae facere? Quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine?
Infima velle praefluit Tiberis.' Religione tactus hospes, 7
qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet
rite facta, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim. Interea
Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mire gratum
regi atque civitati fuit.

Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum pos- **46**
sederat, tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene
Tarquinio audiebat se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata
prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim
diviso ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iuberentne
se regnare; tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam
alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio 2
spem adfectandi regni minuit; immo eo impensius, quia

de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servi apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum sti-
3 mulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret.
4 Hic L. Tarquinius — Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim — fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tar-
5 quinium, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae Tulliae, regis filiae, nupserant, et ipsae longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset
6 constituique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret
7 audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit: malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere, quam cum impari iungi, ut elanguescendum aliena
8 ignavia esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adulescentem suae
9 temeritatis implet. Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor, prope continuatis funeribus cum domos vacuas novo

matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis magis non prohibente Servio quam adprobante.

Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus, infestius **47**
coepit regnum esse. Iam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent: non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur, nec cum 2
quo tacita serviret; defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet. 'Si tu is 3
es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello; sin minus, eo nunc peius mutata res est, quod istic cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris? Non 4
tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est; di te penates patriique et patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale solium et nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut 5
si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regium iuvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinios aut Corinthum, devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior quam patris.' His aliisque in- 6
crepando iuvenem instigat nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret.

His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circum- 7
ire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres; admonere paterni beneficii ac pro eo gratiam repetere; adlicere donis iuvenes; cum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo, 8
ut iam agendae rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine

armatorum in forum irrupit. Inde omnibus perculsis pavore in regia sede pro curia sedens patres in curiam per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Con-
9 venere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo
10 attoniti et iam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: servum servaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri
11 dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordi-
12 dissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset et parata, unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

48 Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce 'quid hoc' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est? Qua tu audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede con-
2 sidere mea?' Cum ille ferociter ad haec, se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiorem filium regis regni heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis, clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam ap-
3 parebatque regnaturum, qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius necessitate iam etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus
4 deicit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam redit. Fit

fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum; ipse prope exsanguis, cum sine regio comitatu domum se reciperet, ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero 5
scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum evocavit virum e curia regemque prima appellavit. A quo facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu 6
cum se domum reciperet pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Vrbium clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is, qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde 7
traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est. Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes prope diem exitus sequerentur.

Servius Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadra- 8
ginta ita, ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum 9
imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitanti intervenisset.

Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit, cui Superbo **49**
cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse

dictitans, primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisse credebat, interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsaepsit; neque enim ad ius regni quicquam praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi iussu neque auctoribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat, ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat perque eam causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset. Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit; bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, iniussu populi ac senatus fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset, neque hospitia modo cum primoribus eorum, sed adfinitates quoque iungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano — is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Ulixe deaque Circa oriundus — ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque eius conciliat.

50 Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae conveniant indicit: esse, quae agere de rebus communibus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce; ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante,

quam sol occideret, venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis iactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: haud mirum esse Superbo inditum Romae cognomen — iam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, vulgo tamen eum appellabant —; an quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum? Principibus longe ab domo excitis ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non adesse. Temptari profecto patientiam, ut, si iugum acceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere, adfectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene crediderint cives aut si creditum illud et non raptum parricidio sit, credere et Latinos, quamquam ne sic quidem alienigenae, debere; sin suos eius paeniteat, quippe qui alii super alios trucidentur, exsulatum eant, bona amittant, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros neque magis observaturos diem concilii, quam ipse, qui indixerit, observet. 3 4 5 6

Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinerosusque homo hisque artibus opes domi nactus cum maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit; aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum. Qui silentio facto monitus a proximis, ut purgaret se, quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se sumptum inter patrem et filium, cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse et, quia ea res exemisset illum diem, postero die acturum, quae constituisset. Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim nullam breviorem esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse. 7 8 9

51 Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam videbatur aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi
2 oppresserat, Latinis iniceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrupit, ut in deversorium
3 eius vim magnam gladiorum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum multa nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia illatam, ait saluti sibi
4 atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse, quod auctor concilii afuerit, quem
5 maxime peteret. Inde illam absentis insectationem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum coniuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici gladiorum ingentem esse
6 numerum ad eum convectum. Id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos, ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant.

7 Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesterna et mora Tarquini, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen nisi gladiis deprehensis cetera
8 vana existimaturi. Ubi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumsistunt custodes; comprehensisque servis, qui caritate domini vim parabant, cum

gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero manifesta res visa, iniectaeque Turno catenae; et confestim Latinorum concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est 9 gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa, novo genere leti, deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.

Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius 52 collaudatisque, qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto parricidio merita poena adfecissent, ita verba fecit: posse quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum 2 omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, eo foedere teneantur, quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum coloniis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium; ceterum se utilitatis 3 id magis omnium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur, quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante perpessi sint, semper aut expectent aut patiantur. Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam 4 in eo foedere superior Romana res erat, ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus indic- 5 tumque iunioribus Latinorum, ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui 6 ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

53 Nec, ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum 2 in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos movit Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. 3 Ubi cum divendita praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi, quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.

4 Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo, 5 adgressus est. Nam cum velut posito bello fundamentis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in 6 se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens: iam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam, et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae taedere, ut, quam in curia solitudinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem 7 heredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsum nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquini credidisse. Nam ne errarent, manere iis bellum, quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem 8 eum incautos invasurum. Quod si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium Volscosque inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat, qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis 9 suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ar-

doris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum.

Cum, si nihil morarentur, infensus ira porro inde abi- 10
turus videretur, benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset; in se ipsum postremo sae- 11
viturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futurumque credere brevi, ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis 54
rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne
liberi quidem potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellan- 2
dum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana accresceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi 3
cum inscia multitudine, quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinium dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud milites vero obeundo peri- 4
cula ac labores pariter, praedam munifice largiendo tanta caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset.

Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes 5
conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quando-

quidem, ut omnia unus Gabiis posset, ei dii de-
6 dissent. Huic nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est; rex velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium transit sequenti nuntio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum capita dici-
7 tur baculo decussisse. Interrogando exspectandoque responsum nuntius fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse quaeque viderit, refert: seu ira seu odio seu superbia insita ingenio nullam eum vocem
8 emisisse. Sexto ubi, quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus, patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud populum, alios sua ipsos invidia
9 opportunos interemit. Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, alii in exsilium acti sunt absentiumque bona iuxta atque interemptorum
10 divisui fuere. Largitiones inde praedaeque; et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum traditur.

55 Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit; quorum erat primum, ut Iovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinios reges ambos,
2 patrem vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Iovis templique eius quod inaedificaretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot ibi, a Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata in-
3 auguratique postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi huius operis movisse numen ad indicandam tanti impe-

rii molem traditur deos; nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere; idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, 4
non motam Termini sedem unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto secutum 5
aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est: caput humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse. Quae visa species haud per 6
ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat, idque ita cecinere vates, quique in urbe erant quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruria acciverant.

Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pomp- 7
tinae manubiae, quae perducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere. Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, cre- 8
diderim quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, 9
qui quadraginta milia pondo argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda sperandam et nullorum ne huius quidem magnificentiae operum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

Intentus perficiendo templo fabris undique ex Etruria 56
accitis non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus, sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui cum haud parvus et ipse militiae adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravaba- 2
tur se templa deum exaedificare manibus suis, quam postquam et ad alia ut specie minora sic laboris aliquanto maioris traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terra agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia quicquam adaequare potuit. His laboribus exercita plebe, quia 3

et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terra marique.

4 Haec agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis ex columna lignea elapsus cum terrorem fugamque in regia fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore per-
5 culit pectus, quam anxiis implevit curis. Itaque cum ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu Delphos ad ma-
6 xime inclitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit; neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria
7 in Graeciam misit. Titus et Arruns profecti. Comes iis additus L. Iunius Brutus, Tarquinia sorore regis natus, iuvenis longe alius ingenio, quam cuius simulationem induerat. Is cum primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit contemptuque
8 tutus esse, ubi in iure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiae cum se suaque praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit cognomen, ut sub eius obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens opperiretur
9 tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum Apol-
10 lini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui. Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis cupido incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi, ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu

vocem redditam ferunt: 'imperium summum Romae habebit, qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit.' Tarquinii, ut Sextus, qui Romae relictus 11
fuerat, ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri iubent; ipsi inter se, uter prior, cum Romam redissent, matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, 12
velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos 13
bellum summa vi parabatur.

Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens ut in ea regione atque **57**
in ea aetate divitiis praepollens. Eapue ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum praeda delenire popularium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbiam 2
regno infestos etiam, quod se in fabrorum ministeriis ac servili tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. 3
Ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes.

In his stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, 4
satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium 5
conviviis comisationibusque inter se terebant. Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus 6
cenabat Tarquinius, Egeri filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis. Inde certamine accenso Collatinus negat verbis opus esse, 7
paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua. 'Quin, si vigor iuventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostra-

rum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod
8 necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluerant
vino. 'Age sane!' omnes. Citatis equis avolant Romam.
Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent,
9 pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam
ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequa-
libus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam
lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium seden-
tem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucre-
10 tiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniique excepti benigne;
victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex.
Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae
11 capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum
quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt.

58 Paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius inscio Colla-
2 tino cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus
benigne ab ignaris consilii cum post cenam in hospitale
cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis
tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad
dormientem Lucretiam venit sinistraque manu mulieris
pectore oppresso 'tace, Lucretia' inquit; 'Sex. Tar-
quinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris
3 vocem.' Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem,
prope mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquinius
fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in
4 omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatam vide-
bat et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum
dedecus: cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum posi-
5 turum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo
terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut vi atrox
libido profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato
decore muliebri esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nun-

tium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant; ita facto maturatoque opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Sp. 6
Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum L. Iunio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam rediens ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrimae obortae 7
quaerentique viro 'Satin salve?' 'Minime' inquit; 'quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo; ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dexteras fidemque haud impune adultero fore. Sex. 8
est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium.' Dant ordine omnes fidem; conso- 9
lantur aegram animi avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti: mentem peccare, non corpus, et unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse. 'Vos' inquit 'videritis, 10
quid illi debeatur; ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.' Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum 11
in corde defigit prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque. 12

Brutus illis luctu occupatis cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae 59
extractum manantem cruore prae se tenens, 'per hunc' inquit 'castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro vosque, dii, testes facio me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro, igni, quacumque dehinc vi possim, exacturum nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum.' Cul- 2
trum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore

ingenium. Ut praeceptum erat, iurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum iam inde ad expugnandum regnum
3 vocantem sequuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines. Pro se quisque
4 scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet cum patris maestitia, tum Brutus castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum auctorque, quod viros, quod Romanos
5 deceret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et cetera iuventus. Inde parte praesidio relicta Collatiae custodibusque ad portas locatis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam profecti.

6 Ubi eo ventum est, quacumque incedit armata multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud temere esse
7 rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit, quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte
8 Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingeniique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquini, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa mortis indignior ac misera-
9 bilior esset. Addita superbia ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae; Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos.
10 Indigna Servi Tulli regis memorata caedis et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia, invocatique ultores

parentum dii. His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae 11
praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret exulesque esse iuberet L. Tarquinium cum coniuge ac liberis. Ipse 12
iunioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter 13
hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit exsecrantibus, quacumque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis cum re nova **60**
trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus — senserat enim adventum —, ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore diversis itineribus Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tar- 2
quinio clausae portae exsiliumque indictum; liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt. Sex. Tarquinius Gabios tamquam in suum regnum profectus ab ultoribus veterum simultatium, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque conciverat, est interfectus. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et vi- 3
ginti. Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules inde 4
comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Servi Tulli creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

LIBER II

9–15, 19–20, 23–33

9 Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis 2 nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur, nunc monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. 3 Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis. Nisi, quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis; nihil excelsum, nihil, quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, 4 rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Porsinna cum regem esse Romae tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum 5 Tuscis ratus Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non umquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit; adeo valida res tum Clusina erat magnumque Porsinnae nomen. Nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs metu perculsa receptis in urbem regibus 6 vel cum servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos, alii Cumas. Salis quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni su*scepto su*mptu ademptum privatis; portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos

educarent. Itaque haec indulgentia patrum asperis post- 7
modum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea 8
tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris 10
demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. Alia muris, 2
alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta; pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles: id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit. Qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentino 3
impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens obtestansque 4
deum et hominum fidem testabatur nequiquam deserto praesidio eos fugere; si transitum pontem a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore. Itaque monere, praedicere, ut pontem ferro, igni, quacumque vi possint, interrumpant; se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum.

Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignisque inter 5
conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obversis comminus ad ineundum proelium armis ipso miraculo audaciae obstupefecit hostes. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. 6
Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam et quod tumultuosis- 7
simum pugnae erat parumper sustinuit; deinde eos quoque ipsos exigua parte pontis relicta, revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coegit. Circumferens inde 8
truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum nunc

singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes: servitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum venire.

9 Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela coni-
10 ciunt. Quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore subito im-
11 petum sustinuit. Tum Cocles 'Tiberine pater' inquit, 'te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias.' Ita sic*ut erat* armatus in Tiberim desiluit multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit rem ausus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam fidei.

12 Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit: statua in comitio posita; agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia
13 eminebant; nam in magna inopia pro domesticis copiis unusquisque aliquid fraudans se ipse victu suo contulit.

11 Porsinna primo conatu repulsus consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Ianiculo
2 locato ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit navibus undique accitis et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut praedatum milites trans
3 flumen per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis traiceret; brevique adeo infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas pro-
4 pellere auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non

metu magis quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul, intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improviso adoriundi, in parvis rebus neglegens ultor gravem se ad maiora vindicem servabat. Itaque ut eliceret praedatores, edicit suis, postero die frequentes porta Esquilina, quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus, scituros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia infida transfugerent. Et sciere perfugae indicio, multoque plures, ut in spem universae praedae, flumen traiciunt.

P. Valerius inde T. Herminium cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considere iubet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita iuventute ad portam Collinam stare, donec hostis praetereat, inde se obicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulum alter T. Lucretius porta Naevia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus, ipse Valerius Caelio monte cohortes delectas educit. Hique primi apparuere hosti; Herminius ubi tumultum sensit, consurgit ex insidiis versisque in Lucretium Etruscis terga caedit; dextra laevaque, hinc a porta Collina, illinc ab Naevia, redditus clamor: ita caesi in medio praedatores neque ad pugnam viribus pares et ad fugam saeptis omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effuse vagandi Etruscis fuit.

Obsidio erat nihilo minus et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius, adulescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur populum Romanum servientem, cum sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri, quorum saepe exercitus fuderit —; itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit; dein metuens, ne, si consulum iniussu

et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum urbis
5 crimen adfirmante, senatum adit. 'Transire Tiberim' inquit, 'patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor: maius, si di iuvant, in animo est facinus'. Adprobant patres Abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur.

6 Ubi eo venit, in confertissima turba prope regium tri-
7 bunal constitit. Ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret eumque milites vulgo adirent: timens sciscitari, uter Porsinna esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret, quis esset, quo temere trāxit fortuna facinus,
8 scribam pro rege obtruncat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum concursu ad clamorem facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus, tum quoque inter tantas fortunae minas metuendus magis quam metuens 'Romanus sum' inquit 'civis; C. Mucium
9 vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est, quam fuit ad caedem: et facere et pati
10 fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si iuvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in
11 vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi iuventus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris; uni tibi et cum singulis res erit.'

12 Cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque conterritus circumdari ignes minitabundus iuberet, nisi expromeret propere, quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages iaceret,
13 'en tibi' inquit, 'ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit iis, qui

magnam gloriam vident,' dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo inicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab sede sua prosiluisset amoverique ab altaribus iuvenem iussisset, 'tu vero abi' inquit, 'in te magis quam in me hostilia ausus. 14
Iuberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret; nunc iure belli liberum te intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto.' Tunc Mucius quasi remunerans meritum 15
'quando quidem' inquit 'est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod minis nequisti: trecenti coniuravimus principes iuventutis Romanae, ut in te hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit; ceteri, ut cuiusque 16
exciderit primi, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt.'

Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae a clade dextrae **13**
manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsinna Romam secuti sunt; adeo moverat eum et primi periculi casus, *a* 2
quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio totiens, quot coniurati superessent, ut
pacis condiciones ultro ferret Romanis. Iactatum in 3
condicionibus nequiquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis, quam quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret.
De agro Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque 4
necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Ianiculo praesidium deduci vellent. His condicionibus composita pace exercitum ab Ianiculo deduxit Porsinna et agro Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim 5
agrum dono dedere, quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata.

Ergo ita honorata virtute feminae quoque ad publica 6
decora excitatae, et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsidibus, cum

castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit sospitesque omnes Romam
7 ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam
8 obsidem deposcendam: alias haud magni facere; deinde in admirationem versus supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse et prae se ferre, quem ad modum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam
9 *intactam* inviolatamque ad suos remissurum. Utrimque constitit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte
10 obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa, quos vellet, legeret. Productis omnibus elegisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat, eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab hoste, quae maxime
11 opportuna iniuriae esset. Pace redintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere: in summa sacra via posita virgo insidens equo.

14 Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos traditus ab antiquis usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet bona Porsinnae
2 regis vendendi. Cuius originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace aut a mitiore crevisse principio, quam hic prae se ferat titulus
3 bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis, quae traduntur, Porsinnam discedentem ab Ianiculo castra opulenta convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commeatu Romanis dono dedisse, inopi
4 tum urbe ab longinqua obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo

immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse bonaque Porsinnae appellata, gratiam muneris magis significante titulo quam auctionem fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestate quidem populi Romani esset.

Omisso Romano bello Porsinna, ne frustra in ea loca ex- 5
ercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum filium Arruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primo Aricinos 6
res necopinata perculerat; arcessita deinde auxilia et a Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut acie decernere auderent. Proelio inito adeo concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci, ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos; Cumanae cohortes arte adversus vim usae declinavere 7
paululum effuseque praelatos hostes conversis signis ab tergo adortae sunt: ita in medio prope iam victores caesi Etrusci. Pars perexigua duce amisso, quia nullum pro- 8
pius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortuna et specie supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benigne excepti divisique in hospitia. Curatis vulneribus alii profecti domos nun- 9
tii hospitalium beneficiorum; multos Romae hospitum urbisque caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde Tuscum vicum appellarunt.

P. Lucretius et P. Valerius Publicola, Sp. Larcius inde et 15
T. Herminius consules facti. Eo anno postremum legati a Porsinna de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus cum responsum esset missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi confestim honoratissimus quisque e patribus: non quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, non recipi 2
reges, ideo potius delectos patrum ad eum missos, quam legatis eius Romae daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum mentio eius rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis in vicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille peteret, quod contra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in perniciem

suam faciles esse vellent, negarent, cui nihil negatum
3 vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse. Ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius quam regibus portas patefacere; ea esse vota omnium, ut, qui
4 libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde, si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse, orare.
5 Rex verecundia victus 'quando id certum atque obstinatum est' inquit, 'neque ego obtundam saepius eadem nequiquam agendo, nec Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu quiete, exsilio quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobis-
6 cum pacem distineat.' Dictis facta amiciora adiecit: obsidum quod reliquum erat reddidit, agrum Veientem foedere ad Ianiculum icto ademptum restituit.
7 Tarquinius spe omni reditus incisa exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsinna fuit.

19–20

19 Consules Ser. Sulpicius M'. Tullius; nihil dignum memo-
2 ria actum; T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta; Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit. Nec ultra bellum Latinum gliscens iam per aliquot annos dilatum.
3 A. Postumius dictator T. Aebutius magister equitum magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt
4 et, quia Tarquinios esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit, quin extemplo confligerent.
5 Ergo etiam proelium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam modo

consilio rem adfuere, sed suismet ipsi corporibus dimicantes miscuere certamina, nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa ex acie sine vulnere praeter dictatorem Romanum excessit. In Postumium prima in acie suos ad- 6
hortantem instruentemque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam iam aetate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit ictusque ab latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu Aebutius magister 7
equitum in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat nec fefellit veniens Tusculanum ducem; contra quem et ille concitat equum. Tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis 8
fuit, ut bracchium Aebutio traiectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini 9
recepere; Aebutius cum saucio bracchio tenere telum non posset, pugna excessit Latinus dux nihil deterritus vul- 10
nere proelium ciet et, quia suos perculsos videbat, arcessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui L. Tarquini filius praeerat. Ea, quo maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis M. **20**
Valerius, Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem iuvenem Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exsulum acie, domestica etiam gloria accensus, ut, cuius familiae decus 2
eiecti reges erant, eiusdem interfecti forent, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tar- 3
quinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium temere invectum in exsulum aciem ex transverso, quidam adortus transfigit, nec quicquam equitis vulnere equo retardato moribundus Romanus labentibus super corpus armis ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius 4
postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter citato agmine invehi, suos perculsos cedere animadvertit, cohorti 5

suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum, ut, quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi a fuga Romani
6 in hostem et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit; integris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exsules caedunt. Ibi alia inter proceres
7 coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus ubi cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit.
8 Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans tanto vi maiore, quam paulo ante magister equitum, cum
9 hostium duce proelium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, cum victor in castra esset
10 relatus, inter primam curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat obtestans, ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto parere: desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum et pro an-
11 tesignanis parmas obiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam iuventutis proceres aequato genere pugnae secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum impulsi Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies.
12 Equiti admoti equi, ut persequi hostem posset; secuta et pedestris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur ac pronuntiasse militi praemia, qui primus, qui secun-
13 dus castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardor fuit, ut eodem impetu, quo fuderant hostem Romani, castra caperent. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediere.

23–33

Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat, et civitas secum 23
ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat
odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Fremebant 2
se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi a civibus
captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam in pace
et inter hostes quam inter cives libertatem plebis esse; in-
vidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius cala-
mitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malo- 3
rum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit. Obsita erat
squalore vestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie
perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaverant 4
speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate,
et ordines duxisse aiebant aliaque militiae decora vulgo
miserantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot
locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat.
Sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum 5
circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino
bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri
non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta
omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore im-
peratum, aes alienum fecisse. Id cumulatum usuris 6
primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis
aliis, postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus; duc-
tum se ab creditore non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et
carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum re- 7
centibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque
clamor ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus continet,
sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi, vincti solutique, 8
se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium

fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes; multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur.

9 Magno cum periculo suo, qui forte patrum in foro erant,
10 in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam.
11 Haec se meritos dicere exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri ar-
12 bitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus; ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat, nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat
13 senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari,
14 nec dubie ludibrio esse miserias suas. Iam prope erat, ut ne consulum quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti, morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo inter patres sed ne inter consules
15 quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

24 Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita — adeo duas ex una civitate discordia fecerat — longe aliter patres ac

plebem adfecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes, ultores superbiae patrum adesse dicere deos; alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent: cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros; patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia essent. At vero curia maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare, ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem publicam. Tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi; ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis metum pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeverti quicquam, nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta arma pro patria non cepisse, aut patribus satis decorum per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate adflictis civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet, liberos nepotesve eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex tota urbe properipientium se ex privato, cum retinendi ius creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit, neque aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

Proxima inde nocte Volsci discordia Romana freti, si qua nocturna transitio proditiove fieri posset, temptant castra. Sensere vigiles, excitatus exercitus, signo

dato concursum est ad arma; ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrimque quieti datum.

Postero die prima luce Volsci fossis repletis vallum invadunt. Iamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur, cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique, et nexi ante omnes, ut signum daret, clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa; eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra legionibus circumdatis, cum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque.

Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quo confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur, captum praedae datum. Inde paulum recreatus egens miles. Consul cum maxima gloria sua victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex senatus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

26 Confestim et Sabini Romanos territavere; tumultus enim fuit verius quam bellum. Nocte in urbem nuntiatum est exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem amnem pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat; secutus consul Servilius cum delecta peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit, nec advenienti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio; fessi cum itinere tum populatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere.

Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino postero 4
die in magna iam spe undique partae pacis legati Aurunci
senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum in-
dicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo 5
profectus erat; cuius fama haud procul iam ab Aricia
visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec consuli or-
dine patres nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus
arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam infesto ag- 6
mine itur, nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa collata
proelioque uno debellatum est.

Fusis Auruncis victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Ro- 27
manus promissa consulis fidemque senatus exspectabat,
cum Appius et ins ta superbia animo et ut collegae vanam
faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat, ius de creditis
pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et, qui ante nexi fuerant,
creditoribus tradebantur et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi 2
cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat. Concursus ad
Servilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant; illi expro-
brabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas.
Postulabant, ut aut referret ad senatum, aut auxilio
esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant 3
consulem haec, sed tergiversari res cogebat; adeo in al-
teram causam non collega solum praeceps erat, sed omnis
factio nobilium. Ita medium se gerendo nec plebis vita-
vit odium nec apud patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem 4
consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem; brevique
apparuit aequasse eum Appi odium.

Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mer- 5
curi aedem. Senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit: utri
eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum praeesse
annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollemnia pro
pontifice iussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis 6

dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni, quod facile appareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum quam ad consulum ignominiam. 7 Saevire inde utique consulum alter patresque; sed plebi creverant animi, et longe alia quam primo instituerant via grassabantur. 8 Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, cum decresset, quisquam obtemperabat. 9 Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum, cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant.

10 Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectuque decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet et ad id, quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiceret, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet: 11 non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam neque proiectum consulare imperium; se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis vindicem fore. 12 Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, provocavit; nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore; adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. 13 Crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertis, sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

28 A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt.

Tum vero plebs incerta, quales habitura consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis, pars in Aventino facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et omnia temere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam 2
ad patres deferunt, sed de ea tum consulere ordine non licuit; adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exsequendum esset, invidiam eius consules ad senatum reicerent. Profecto, si essent in re publica magistratus, 3
nullum futurum fuisse Romae nisi publicum consilium; nunc in mille curias contionesque, cum alia [in] Esquiliis, 4
alia in Aventino fiant concilia, dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. Unum hercule virum — id enim plus esse quam consulem —, qualis Ap. Claudius fuerit, momento temporis discussurum illos coetus fuisse. Cor- 5
repti consules cum, quid ergo se facere vellent, nihil enim segnius molliusve, quam patribus placeat, acturos, percunctarentur, decernunt, ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant: otio lascivire plebem.

Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; citant 6
nominatim iuniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum negare ultra decipi plebem posse; numquam unum militem habituros, 7
ni praestaretur fides publica; libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro dominis pugnent. Consules, quid mandatum 8
esset a senatu, videbant, sed eorum, qui intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur, neminem adesse invidiae suae participem. Et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. Prius itaque quam ultima experirentur, senatum 9
iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum propere convolavere minimus quisque natu patrum, ab-

dicare consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

29 Utraque re satis experta tum demum consules: 'ne praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus, ut ii, qui maxime ignaviam increpant, adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque 2 arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus.' Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis, qui in conspectu erant, dedita opera iubent. Cum staret tacitus et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset 3 globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes, qui patrum consulibus aderant, devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio 4 essent. Sed ab lictore nihil aliud quam prendere prohibito cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam iniuriae fuerat.

5 Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consulitur quaestionem postulantibus iis, qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis magis quam 6 clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curia 7 quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius rem non vulgabat; de iis tantum, qui fidem secuti P. Servili consulis Volsco, Aurunco Sabi- 8 noque militassent bello, agendum censebat. T. Larcius non id tempus esse, ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse, ni omnibus consulatur; quin, si alia aliorum sit condicio, 9 accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura immitis et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis ait, sed licentia tantum concitum

turbarum, et lascivire magis plebem quam saevire. Id adeo malum ex provocatione natum; quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos, qui una peccaverint, provocare liceat. 'Agedum' inquit 'dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus, iam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticiscet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem, qui sciet ius de tergo vitaque sua penes unum illum esse, cuius maiestatem violarit.'

Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appi sententia; rursus Vergini Larcique exemplo haud salubres; utique Larci putabant esse eam, quae totam fidem tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium Vergini habebatur; sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit, ut dictator ille idem crearetur; quae res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aequique et Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperio suo vehemens *magistratus* mansueto permitteretur ingenio. M.' Valerium dictatorem Volesi filium creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, cum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos Servili fere consulis edicto conveniens; sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi omisso certamine nomina dedere. Quantus nunquam ante exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quattuor dictator usus.

Nec iam poterat bellum differri. Aequi Latinum agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant, ut aut mitterent subsidium aut se ipsos tuendorum

9 finium causa capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est. Is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Aequi campis locoque magis quam armis freti summis se iugis montium tutabantur.

10 Alter consul in Volscos profectus, ne et ipse tereret tempus, vastandis maxime agris hostem ad conferenda pro-
11 pius castra dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio inter castra campo ante suum quisque vallum infestis signis constitere. Multitudine aliquantum Volsci superabant;
12 Itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus defixis pilis stare suos iussit: ubi ad manum venisset hostis
13 tum coortos tota vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci cursu et clamore fessi cum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex adverso factam et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus, quam si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia cursu in proelium
14 ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnae quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus, facile adepti fessos et castra impetu ceperunt et castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem irrupere;
15 plusque ibi sanguinis promiscua omnium generum caede quam in ipsa dimicatione factum. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt.

31 Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque, exuit cas-
2 tris. Equitatu immisso mediam turbaverat hostium aciem, qua, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte introrsum ordinibus firmaverant; turbatos pedes invasit.
3 Eodem impetu castra capta debellatumque est. Post

pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus, sella eo loco curulis posita.

Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras 4
coloni ab urbe missi; et colonia deducta. Cum Aequis post aliquando pugnatum est invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites ex- 5
trahi rem criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret, irritaque, sicut ante consulis, promissa eius caderent, perpulere, ut forte temere in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id male commissum ig- 6
navia hostium in bonum vertit, qui, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audacia Romanorum relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenuerant locis, in aversas valles desiluere; ubi satis praedae et victoria incruenta fuit.

Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum 7
rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat; tanta cum gratia tum arte praeparaverant faeneratores, quae non modo plebem, sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius post Vetusi consulis re- 8
ditum omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo rettulitque, quid de nexis fieri placeret. Quae cum reiecta relatio esset, 'non placeo' inquit 'con- 9
cordiae auctor; optabitis, mediusfidius, propediem, ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum ex- 10
ternum fecere, ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica; pax foris parta est, domi impeditur; privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero.' Ita curia egressus dictatura

11 se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse: itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset, quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

32 Timor inde patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent. Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata est
2 seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse — trans Anienem
3 amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum; ea frequentior fama est quam, cuius Piso auctor est, in Aventinum se-
4 cessionem factam esse —; ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere.

5 Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam patrum; timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti, manere eam
6 an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam, quae secesserit, multitudinem fore? Quid futurum deinde, si
7 quod externum interim bellum exsistat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere; eam
8 per aequa, per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum. Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo
9 nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore, quo in ho-

mine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os accipere datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

Agi deinde de concordia coeptum concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Hi tres collegas sibi creaverunt; in his Sicinium fuisse seditionis auctorem; de duobus, qui fuerint, minus convenit. Sunt, qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant ibique sacratam legem latam.

LIBER III

26–29, 33–58

26 Minucio neque fortuna nec vis animi eadem in gerendo negotio fuit; nam cum haud procul ab hoste castra posuisset, nulla magnopere clade accepta castris se pavidus
4 tenebat. Quod ubi senserant hostes, crevit ex metu alieno, ut fit, audacia, et nocte adorti castra, postquam parum vis aperta profecerat, munitiones postero die circumdant. Quae priusquam undique vallo obiectae clauderent exitus, quinque equites inter stationes hostium emissi Romam
5 pertulere consulem exercitumque obsideri. Nihil tam inopinatum nec tam insperatum accidere potuit. Itaque tantus pavor, tanta trepidatio fuit, quanta si urbem, non
6 castra hostes obsiderent. Nautium consulem arcessunt. In quo cum parum praesidii videretur dictatoremque dici placeret, qui rem perculsam restitueret, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus consensu omnium dicitur.

7 Operae pretium est audire, qui omnia prae divitiis humana spernunt neque honori magno locum neque vir-
8 tuti putant esse, nisi ubi effuse afluant opes. Spes unica imperii populi Romani, L. Quinctius trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc navalia sunt, quattuor iu-
9 gerum colebat agrum, quae prata Quinctia vocantur. Ibi ab legatis, seu fossam fodiens palae innixus seu cum araret, operi certe, id quod constat, agresti intentus, salute data in vicem redditaque rogatus, ut, quod bene verteret ipsi

reique publicae, togatus mandata senatus audiret, admiratus rogitansque 'Satin salve?' togam propere e tugurio proferre uxorem Raciliam iubet. Qua simul absterso 10
pulvere ac sudore velatus processit, dictatorem eum legati gratulantes consalutant, in urbem vocant, qui terror sit in exercitu, exponunt. Navis Quinctio publice 11
parata fuit, transvectumque tres obviam egressi filii excipiunt, inde alii propinqui atque amici, tum patrum maior pars. Ea frequentia stipatus antecedentibus lictoribus deductus est domum. Et plebis concursus ingens fuit; 12
sed ea nequaquam tam laeta Quinctium vidit, et imperii nimium et virum ipso imperio vehementiorem rata. Et illa quidem nocte nihil praeterquam vigilatum est in urbe.

Postero die dictator, cum ante lucem in forum venisset, **27**
magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium, patriciae gentis, sed qui, cum stipendia pedibus propter paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longe Romanae iuventutis habitus
esset. Cum magistro equitum in contionem venit, iusti- 2
tium edicit, claudi tabernas tota urbe iubet, vetat quemquam privatae quicquam rei agere. Tum, quicumque 3
aetate militari essent, armati cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis vallisque duodenis ante solis occasum Martio in campo adessent; quibus aetas ad militandum gravior 4
esset, vicino militi, dum is arma pararet vallumque peteret, cibaria coquere iussit. Sic iuventus discurrit ad vallum petendum. Sumpsere, unde cuique proximum 5
fuit; prohibitus nemo est; impigreque omnes ad edictum dictatoris praesto fuere. Inde composito agmine non 6
itineri magis apti quam proelio, si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator, magister equitum suos equites ducit. In utroque agmine quas tempus ipsum poscebat adhortationes
erant: adderent gradum; maturato opus esse, ut nocte 7

ad hostem perveniri posset. Consulem exercitumque Romanum obsideri, tertium diem iam clausos esse; quid quaeque nox aut dies ferat, incertum esse; puncto saepe
8 temporis maximarum rerum momenta verti. 'Accelera signifer!' 'Sequere miles!' inter se quoque gratificantes ducibus clamabant. Media nocte in Algidum perveniunt et, ut sensere se iam prope hostes esse, signa constituunt.
28 Ibi dictator, quantum nocte prospici poterat, equo circumvectus contemplatusque, qui tractus castrorum quaeque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit, ut sarcinas in unum conici iubeant, militem cum armis valloque
2 redire in ordines suos. Facta quae imperavit. Tum, quo fuerant ordine in via, exercitum omnem longo agmine circumdat hostium castris et, ubi signum datum sit, clamorem omnes tollere iubet, clamore sublato ante se
3 quemque ducere fossam et iacere vallum. Edito imperio signum secutum est. Iussa miles exsequitur. Clamor hostes circumsonat; superat inde castra hostium et in
4 castra consulis venit; alibi pavorem, alibi gaudium ingens facit. Romani civilem esse clamorem atque auxilium adesse inter se gratulantes ultro ex stationibus ac
5 vigiliis territant hostem. Consul differendum negat: illo clamore non adventum modo significari, sed rem ab suis coeptam; mirumque esse, ni iam exteriore parte castra
6 hostium oppugnentur. Itaque arma suos capere et se subsequi iubet. Nocte initum proelium est; legionibus dictatoris clamore significant ab ea quoque parte rem in
7 discrimine esse. Iam se ad prohibenda circumdari opera Aequi parabant, cum ab interiore hoste proelio coepto, ne per media sua castra fieret eruptio, a munientibus ad pugnantes introrsum versi vacuam noctem operi dedere;
8 pugnatumque cum consule ad lucem est. Luce prima

iam circumvallati ab dictatore erant et vix adversus unum exercitum pugnam sustinebant. Tum a Quinctiano exercitu, qui confestim a perfecto opere ad arma rediit, invaditur vallum. Hic instabat nova pugna; illa nihil remiserat prior. Tum ancipiti malo urgente a proelio ad 9
preces versi hinc dictatorem, hinc consulem orare, ne in occidione victoriam ponerent, ut inermes se inde abire sinerent. Ab consule ad dictatorem ire iussi; is ignominiam infensus addidit: Gracchum Cloelium ducem 10
principesque alios vinctos ad se adduci iubet, oppido Corbione decedi. Sanguinis se Aequorum non egere; licere abire; sed, ut exprimatur tandem confessio subactam domitamque esse gentem, sub iugum abituros. Tribus hastis iugum fit humi fixis duabus superque eas 11
transversa una deligata. Sub hoc iugum dictator Aequos misit.

Castris hostium receptis plenis omnium rerum — nudos **29**
enim emiserat — praedam omnem suo tantum militi dedit; consularem exercitum ipsumque consulem increpans 2
'carebis' inquit 'praedae parte, miles, ex eo hoste, cui prope praedae fuisti; et tu, L. Minuci, donec consularem animum incipias habere, legatus his legionibus praeeris.' Ita se Minucius abdicat consulatu iussusque ad exercitum 3
manet. Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus mansuete oboediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiae hic exercitus memor et coronam auream dictatori libram pondo decreverit et proficiscentem eum patronum salutaverit.

Romae a Q. Fabio praefecto urbis senatus habitus 4
triumphantem Quinctium quo veniebat agmine urbem ingredi iussit. Ducti ante currum hostium duces, militaria signa praelata, secutus exercitus praeda onustus. Epulae instructae dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domus, 5

epulantesque cum carmine triumphali et sollemnibus
6 iocis comisantium modo currum secuti sunt. Eo die
L. Mamilio Tusculano adprobantibus cunctis civitas
data est. Confestim se dictator magistratu abdicasset,
ni comitia M. Volsci, falsi testis, tenuissent: ea ne im-
pedirent tribuni, dictatoris obstitit metus. Volscius
damnatus Lanuvium in exsilium abiit.
7 Quinctius sexto decimo die dictatura in sex menses
accepta se abdicavit.

33–58

33 Anno trecentesimo altero, quam condita Roma erat,
iterum mutatur forma civitatis, ab consulibus ad decem-
viros, quem ad modum ab regibus ante ad consules venerat,
translato imperio. Minus insignis, quia non diuturna,
2 mutatio fuit. Laeta enim principia magistratus eius
nimis luxuriavere; eo citius lapsa res est repetitumque,
duobus uti mandaretur consulum nomen imperiumque.
3 Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius,
L. Veturius, C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius, P. Curia-
4 tius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio,
quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore
honos redditus, et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni,
5 quod eam rem collega invito ad patres rettulerat. His
proximi habiti legati tres, qui Athenas ierunt, simul ut
pro legatione tam longinqua praemio esset honos, simul
peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova iura usui
6 fore credebant. Supplevere ceteri numerum. Graves
quoque aetate electos novissimis suffragiis ferunt, quo
7 minus ferociter aliorum scitis adversarentur. Regimen
totius magistratus penes Appium erat favore plebis;

adeoque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repente omnisque aurae popularis captator evaderet pro truci saevoque insectatore plebis.

Decumo die ius populo singuli reddebant. Eo die penes 8
praefectum iuris fasces duodecim erant; collegis novem singuli accensi apparebant. Et in unica concordia inter ipsos, qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis est, summa adversus alios aequitas erat. Moderationis eorum argu- 9
mentum exemplo unius rei notasse satis erit. Cum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso cadavere domi apud P. Sestium, patriciae gentis virum, invento prolatoque in 10
contionem, in re iuxta manifesta atque atroci C. Iulius decemvir diem Sestio dixit et accusator ad populum exstitit, cuius rei iudex legitimus erat, decessitque iure suo, ut demptum de vi magistratus populi libertati adiceret.

Cum promptum hoc ius velut ex oraculo incorruptum 34
pariter ab iis summi infimique ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur; ingentique hominum exspectatione propositis decem tabulis populum ad contionem advocaverunt et, quod bonum, faustum felixque rei publicae, 2
ipsis liberisque eorum esset, ire et legere leges propositas iussere. Se, quantum decem hominum ingeniis provi- 3
deri potuerit, omnibus, summis infimisque, iura aequasse; plus pollere multorum ingenia consiliaque. Versarent in 4
animis secum unamquamque rem, agitarent deinde sermonibus atque in medium, quid in quaque re plus minusve esset, conferrent: eas leges habiturum populum Roma- 5
num, quas consensus omnium non iussisse latas magis quam tulisse videri posset.

Cum ad rumores hominum de unoquoque legum capite 6
editos satis correctae viderentur, centuriatis comitiis decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt, qui nunc quoque in

hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cu-
7 mulo fons omnis publici privatique est iuris. Vulgatur deinde rumor duas deesse tabulas, quibus adiectis absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani iuris. Ea exspectatio, cum dies comitiorum adpropinquaret, desiderium decem-
8 viros iterum creandi fecit. Iam plebs, praeterquam quod consulum nomen haud secus quam regum perosa erat, ne tribunicium quidem auxilium cedentibus in vicem appellationi decemviris quaerebat.

35 Postquam vero comitia decemviris creandis in trinum
2 nundinum indicta sunt, tanta exarsit ambitio, ut primores quoque civitatis — metu, credo, ne tanti possessio imperii vacuo ab se relicto loco haud satis dignis pateret — prensarent homines, honorem summa ope a se impugnatum ab ea plebe, cum qua contenderant, suppliciter pe-
3 tentes. Demissa iam in discrimen dignitas ea aetate iisque honoribus actis stimulabat Ap. Claudium. Nescires, utrum inter decemviros an inter candidatos numerares. Propior interdum petendo quam gerendo magis-
4 tratui erat: criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum
5 levissimum quemque humillimumque, ipse medius inter tribunicios, Duillios Iciliosque, in foro volitare, per illos se plebi venditare, donec collegae quoque, qui unice illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, coniecere in eum oculos, mirantes,
6 quid sibi vellet. Apparere nihil sinceri esse; profecto haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem fore; nimium in ordinem se ipsum cogere et vulgari cum privatis non tam properantis abire magistratu quam viam ad con-
7 tinuandum magistratum quaerentis esse. Propalam obviam ire cupiditati parum ausi obsecundando mollire impetum adgrediuntur. Comitiorum illi habendorum, quando minimus natu sit, munus consensu iniungunt.

Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset, quod praeter 8
tribunos plebi, et id ipsum pessimo exemplo, nemo umquam fecisset.

Ille enimvero, quod bene vertat, habiturum se comitia professus, impedimentum pro occasione arripuit deiec- 9
tisque honore per coitionem duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo viro in optimatium causa, et aliis eiusdem fastigii civibus, nequaquam splendore vitae pares decemviros creat, se in 10
primis, quod haud secus factum improbabant boni, quam nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo M. Cor- 11
nelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Poetilius, T. Antonius Merenda, K. Duillius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, M'. Rabuleius.

Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit; suo **36**
iam inde vivere ingenio coepit novosque collegas, iam priusquam inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare. Cottidie coibant remotis arbitris; inde impotentibus 2
instructi consiliis, quae secreto ab aliis coquebant, iam haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditus, colloquentibus difficiles, ad Idus Maias rem perduxere.

Idus tum Maiae sollemnes ineundis magistratibus erant. 3
Inito igitur magistratu primum honoris diem denuntiatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere. Nam cum ita priores decemviri servassent, ut unus fasces haberet et hoc insigne regium in orbem suam cuiusque vicem per omnes iret, subito omnes cum duodenis fascibus prodiere. Centum 4
viginti lictores forum impleverant et cum fascibus secures illigatas praeferebant; nec attinuisse demi securem, cum sine provocatione creati essent, interpretabantur.

Decem regum species erat multiplicatusque terror non 5
infimis solum, sed primoribus patrum ratis caedis causam

ac principium quaeri, ut, si quis memorem libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset, statim virgae securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum expedirentur. Nam praeterquam quod in populo nihil erat praesidii sublata provocatione, intercessionem quoque consensu sustulerant cum priores decemviri appellatione collegae corrigi reddita ab se iura tulissent et quaedam, quae sui iudicii videri possent, ad populum reiecissent.

7 Aliquamdiu aequatus inter omnes terror fuit; paulatim totus vertere in plebem coepit. Abstinebatur a patribus; in humiliores lubidinose crudeliterque consulebatur. Hominum, non causarum toti erant, ut apud 8 quos gratia vim aequi haberet. Iudicia domi conflabant, pronuntiabant in foro. Si quis collegam appellasset, ab eo, ad quem venerat, ita discedebat, ut paeniteret non 9 prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine auctore exierat non in praesentis modo temporis eos iniuriam conspirasse, sed foedus clandestinum inter ipsos iure iurando ictum, ne comitia haberent perpetuoque decemviratu possessum semel obtinerent imperium.

37 Circumspectare tum patriciorum vultus plebei et inde libertatis captare auram, unde servitutem timendo in eum 2 statum rem publicam adduxerant. Primores patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem; nec probare, quae fierent, et credere haud indignis accidere; avide ruendo ad 3 libertatem in servitutem elapsos iuvare nolle, cumulari quoque iniurias, ut taedio praesentium consules duo tandem et status pristinus rerum in desiderium veniant.

4 Iam et processerat pars maior anni, et duae tabulae legum ad prioris anni decem tabulas erant adiectae, nec quicquam iam supererat, si eae quoque leges centuriatis comitiis perlatae essent, cur eo magistratu rei publicae

opus esset. Exspectabant, quam mox consulibus creandis 5
comitia ederentur. Id modo plebes agitabat, quonam
modo tribuniciam potestatem, munimentum libertati,
[rem intermissam] repararent, cum interim mentio comitiorum nulla fieri. Et decemviri, qui primo tribunicios 6
homines, quia id populare habebatur, circum se ostentaverant plebei, patriciis iuvenibus saepserant latera.
Eorum catervae tribunalia obsederant. Hi ferre agere 7
plebem plebisque res, cum fortuna, quidquid cupitum
foret, potentioris esset. Et iam ne tergo quidem abstinebatur 8: virgis caedi, alii securi subici, et, ne gratuita crudelitas esset, bonorum donatio sequi domini supplicium.
Hac mercede iuventus nobilis corrupta non modo non ire
obviam iniuriae, sed propalam licentiam suam malle quam
omnium libertatem.

Idus Maiae venere. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus 38
privati pro decemviris neque animis ad imperium inhibendum imminutis neque ad speciem honoris insignibus prodeunt. Id vero regnum haud dubie videri. Deploratur in 2
perpetuum libertas, nec vindex quisquam exsistit aut
futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solum desponderant animos,
sed contemni coepti erant a finitimis populis imperiumque ibi esse, ubi non esset libertas, indignabantur.

Sabini magna manu incursionem in agrum Romanum 3
fecere lateque populati, cum hominum atque pecudum
inulti praedas egissent, recepto ad Eretum, quod passim
vagatum erat, agmine castra locant spem in discordia
Romana ponentes: eam impedimentum dilectui fore.
Non nuntii solum, sed per urbem agrestium fuga trepi- 4
dationem iniecit. Decemviri consultant, quid opus facto
sit, destituti inter patrum et plebis odia, addit terrorem
insuper alium fortuna. Aequi alia ex parte castra in 5

Algido locant depopulanturque inde excursionibus Tusculanum agrum. Legati ea ab Tusculo praesidium orantes nuntiant.

6 Is pavor perculit decemviros, ut senatum simul duobus circumstantibus urbem bellis consulerent. Citari iubent in curiam patres haud ignari, quanta invidiae immineret 7 tempestas: omnes vastati agri periculorumque imminentium causas in se congesturos, temptationemque eam fore abolendi sibi magistratus, ni consensu resisterent imperioque inhibendo acriter in paucos praeferocis animi 8 conatus aliorum comprimerent. Postquam audita vox in foro est praeconis patres in curiam ad decemviros vocantis, velut nova res, quia intermiserant iam diu morem consulendi senatus, mirabundam plebem convertit, quidnam incidisset, cur ex tanto intervallo rem desuetam usurpa- 9 rent: hostibus belloque gratiam habendam, quod solitum quicquam liberae civitati fieret. Circumspectare omnibus 10 fori partibus senatorem raroque usquam noscitare; curiam inde ac solitudinem circa decemviros intueri, cum et ipsi consensu invisum imperium et plebs, quia privatis ius non esset vocandi senatum, non convenire patres interpretarentur; iam caput fieri libertatem repetentium, si se plebs comitem senatui det et, quem ad modum patres vocati non coeant in senatum, sic plebs abnuat dilectum. 11 Haec fremunt plebes. Patrum haud fere quisquam in foro, in urbe rari erant. Indignitate rerum cesserant in agros suarumque rerum erant omissa publica *cura*, tantum ab iniuria se abesse rati, quantum a coetu congressuque 12 impotentium dominorum se amovissent. Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos apparitores simul ad pignera capienda sciscitandumque, num consulto detrectarent, referunt senatum in agris esse. Laetius id

decemviris accidit, quam si praesentes detrectare imperium
referrent. Iubent acciri omnes senatumque in diem pos- 13
terum edicunt; qui aliquanto spe ipsorum frequentior
convenit. Quo facto proditam a patribus plebs libertatem rata, quod iis, qui iam magistratu abissent, privatisque, si vis abesset, tamquam iure cogentibus senatus paruisset.

Sed magis oboedienter ventum in curiam esse quam 39
obnoxie dictas sententias accepimus. L. Valerium Po- 2
titum proditum memoriae est post relationem Ap. Claudi, priusquam ordine sententiae rogarentur, postulando, ut de re publica liceret dicere, prohibentibus minaciter decemviris prodituram se ad plebem denuntiantem tumultum excivisse. Nec minus ferociter M. Horatium Barbatum 3
isse in certamen decem Tarquinios appellantem admonentemque Valeriis et Horatiis ducibus pulsos reges. Nec nominis homines tum pertaesum esse, quippe quo 4
Iovem appellari fas sit, quo Romulum, conditorem urbis, deincepsque reges, quod sacris etiam ut sollemne retentum sit; superbiam violentiamque tum perosos regis. Quae 5
si in rege aut in filio regis ferenda non fuerint, quem laturum in tot privatis? Viderent, ne vetando in curia 6
libere homines loqui extra curiam etiam moverent vocem. Neque se videre, qui sibi minus privato ad contionem populum vocare quam illis senatum cogere liceat. Ubi 7
vellent, experirentur, quanto fortior dolor in libertate sua vindicanda quam cupiditas in iniusta dominatione esset. De bello Sabino eos referre, tamquam maius ullum 8
populo Romano bellum sit quam cum iis, qui legum ferendarum causa creati nihil iuris in civitate reliquerint, qui comitia, qui annuos magistratus, qui vicissitudinem imperitandi, quod unum exaequandae sit libertatis, sus-

tulerint, qui privati fasces et regium imperium habeant.
9 Fuisse regibus exactis patricios magistratus, creatos postea post secessionem plebis plebeios: cuius illi partis essent, rogitare. Populares? Quid enim eos per populum egisse? Optimates? Qui anno iam prope senatum non habuerint, nunc ita habeant, ut de re publica loqui
10 prohibeant? Ne nimium in metu alieno spei ponerent; graviora quae patiantur videri iam hominibus, quam quae metuant.

40 Haec vociferante Horatio cum decemviri nec irae nec ignoscendi modum reperirent nec, quo evasura res esset, cernerent, C. Claudi, qui patruus Appi decemviri erat,
2 oratio fuit precibus quam iurgio similior, orantis per sui fratris parentisque eius manes, ut civilis potius societatis,
3 in qua natus esset, quam foederis nefarie icti cum collegis meminisset. Multo id magis se illius causa orare quam
4 rei publicae; quippe rem publicam, si a volentibus nequeat, ab invitis ius expetituram; sed ex magno certamine magnas excitari ferme iras; earum eventum se horrere.
5 Cum aliud, praeterquam de quo rettulissent, decemviri dicere prohiberent, Claudium interpellandi verecundia fuit. Sententiam igitur peregit nullum placere senatus
6 consultum fieri. Omnesque ita accipiebant, privatos eos a Claudio iudicatos; multique ex consularibus verbo
7 adsensi sunt. Alia sententia, asperior in speciem, vim minorem aliquanto habuit, quae patricios coire ad prodendum interregem iubebat. Censendo enim quodcumque magistratus esse qui senatum haberent iudicabant, quos privatos fecerat auctor nullius senatus consulti faciendi.

8 Ita labente iam causa decemvirorum L. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Corneli decemviri frater, cum ex con-

sularibus ad ultimum dicendi locum consulto servatus
esset, simulando curam belli fratrem collegasque eius
tuebatur, quonam fato incidisset, mirari se dictitans, ut 9
decemviros, qui decemviratum petissent, aut soli aut
hi maxime oppugnarent; aut quid ita, cum per tot menses 10
vacua civitate nemo, iustine magistratus summae rerum
praeessent, controversiam fecerit, nunc demum, cum
hostes prope ad portas sint, civiles discordias serant, nisi
quod in turbido minus perspicuum fore putent, quid
agatur. Ceterum — nec enim maiore cura occupatis 11
animis verum esse praeiudicium rei tantae fieri — sibi
placere de eo, quod Valerius Horatiusque ante idus Maias
decemviros abisse magistratu insimulent, bellis, quae
immineant, perfectis, re publica in tranquillum redacta,
senatu disceptante agi et iam nunc ita se parare Ap. 12
Claudium, ut comitiorum, quae decemviris creandis
decemvir ipse habuerit, sciat sibi rationem reddendam
esse, utrum in unum annum creati sint, an donec leges,
quae deessent, perferrentur. In praesentia omnia praeter 13
bellum omitti placere; cuius si falso famam vulgatam
vanaque non nuntios solum, sed Tusculanorum etiam
legatos adtulisse putent, speculatores mittendos cen-
sere, qui certius explorata referant; sin fides et nuntiis et 14
legatis habeatur, dilectum primo quoque tempore haberi
et decemviros quo cuique eorum videatur exercitus ducere
nec rem aliam praeverti.

In hanc sententiam ut discederetur, iuniores patrum **41**
evincebant. Ferocioresque iterum coorti Valerius Ho-
ratiusque vociferari, ut de re publica liceret dicere;
dicturos ad populum, si in senatu per factionem non
liceat; neque enim sibi privatos aut in curia aut in
contione posse obstare neque se imaginariis fascibus

2 eorum cessuros esse. Tum Appius, iam prope esse ratus, ut, ni violentiae eorum pari resisteretur audacia,
3 victum imperium esset, 'non erit melius' inquit, 'nisi de quo consulimus vocem misisse' et ad Valerium, negantem se privato reticere, lictorem accedere iussit.
4 Iam Quiritium fidem implorante Valerio a curiae limine, L. Cornelius complexus Appium non cui simulabat consulendo diremit certamen; factaque per Cornelium Valerio dicendi gratia, quae vellet, cum libertas non ultra
5 vocem excessisset, decemviri propositum tenuere. Consulares quoque ac seniores ab residuo tribuniciae potestatis odio, cuius desiderium plebi multo acrius quam consularis imperii rebantur esse, prope malebant postmodo ipsos decemviros voluntate abire magistratu quam
6 invidia eorum exsurgere rursus plebem; si leniter ducta res sine populari strepitu ad consules redisset, aut bellis interpositis aut moderatione consulum in imperiis exercendis posse in oblivionem tribunorum plebem adduci.
7 Silentio patrum edicitur dilectus. Iuniores, cum sine provocatione imperium esset, ad nomina respondent. Legionibus scriptis inter se decemviri comparant, quos
8 ire ad bellum, quos praeesse exercitibus oporteret. Principes inter decemviros erant Q. Fabius et Ap. Claudius. Bellum domi maius quam foris apparebat. Appi violentiam aptiorem rati ad comprimendos urbanos motus.

In Fabio minus in bono constans quam navum in
9 malitia ingenium esse. Hunc enim virum egregium olim domi militiaeque, decemviratus collegaeque ita mutaverant, ut Appi quam sui similis mallet esse. Huic bellum in Sabinis M'. Rabuleio et Q. Poetilio additis
10 collegis mandatum. M. Cornelius in Algidum missus cum L. Minucio et T. Antonio et K. Duillio et M. Sergio.

Sp. Oppium Ap. Claudio adiutorem ad urbem tuendam aequo omnium decemvirorum imperio decernunt.

Nihilo militiae quam domi melius res publica ad- **42**
ministrata est. Illa modo in ducibus culpa, quod ut 2
odio essent civibus, fecerant; alia omnis penes milites noxia erat, qui, ne quid ductu atque auspicio decemvirorum prospere usquam gereretur, vinci se per suum atque illorum dedecus patiebantur. Fusi et ab Sabinis 3
ad Eretum et in Algido ab Aequis exercitus erant. Ab Ereto per silentium noctis profugi propius urbem inter Fidenas Crustumeriamque loco edito castra communierant; persecutis hostibus nusquam se aequo cer- 4
tamine committentes natura loci ac vallo, non virtute aut armis tutabantur. Maius flagitium in Algido, maior 5
etiam clades accepta; castra quoque amissa erant, exutusque omnibus utensilibus miles Tusculum se, fide misericordiaque victurus hospitum, quae tamen non fefellerunt, contulerat. Romam tanti erant terrores 6
adlati, ut posito iam decemvirali odio patres vigilias in urbe habendas censerent, omnes, qui per aetatem arma ferre possent, custodire moenia ac pro portis stationes agere iuberent, arma Tusculum ac supplemen- 7
tum decernerent decemvirosque ab arce Tusculi degressos in castris militem habere; castra alia a Fidenis in Sabinum agrum transferri belloque ultro inferendo deterreri hostes a consilio urbis oppugnandae.

Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda faci- **43**
nora decemviri belli domique adiciunt. L. Siccium in 2
Sabinis, per invidiam decemviralem tribunorum creandorum secessionisque mentiones ad vulgus militum sermonibus occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad locum castris capiendum mittunt. Datur negotium militibus, 3

quos miserant expeditionis eius comites, ut eum op-
4 portuno adorti loco interficerent. Haud inultum interfecere; nam circa repugnantem aliquot insidiatores cecidere, cum ipse se praevalidus pari viribus animo cir-
5 cumventus tutaretur. Nuntiant in castra ceteri praecipitatum in insidias esse; Siccium egregie pugnantem
6 militesque quosdam cum eo amissos. Primo fides nuntiantibus fuit; profecta deinde cohors ad sepeliendos qui ceciderant decemvirorum permissu, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus Sicciumque in medio iacentem armatum omnibus in eum versis corporibus videre, hostium neque corpus ullum nec vestigia abeuntium, profecto ab suis interfectum memorantes ret-
7 tulere corpus. Invidiaeque plena castra erant, et Romam ferri protinus Siccium placebat, ni decemviri funus militare ei publica impensa facere maturassent. Sepultus ingenti militum maestitia, pessima decemvirorum in vulgus fama est.

44 Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas ab libidine ortum, haud minus foedo eventu, quam quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset.

Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiae stuprandae libido
2 cepit. Pater virginis, L. Verginius, honestum ordinem in Algido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi militiaeque. Perinde uxor instituta fuerat liberique instituebantur.
3 Desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri et pro
4 causa plebis expertae virtutis. Hanc virginem adultam, forma excellentem Appius amore amens pretio ac spe perlicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore saepta animadvertit, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum

convertit. M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut vir- 5
ginem in servitutem adsereret neque cederet secundum
libertatem postulantibus vindicias, quod pater puellae
abesset, locum iniuriae esse ratus. Virgini venienti 6
in forum — ibi namque in tabernis litterarum ludi erant
— minister decemviri libidinis manum iniecit serva
sua natam servamque appellans sequique se iubebat:
cunctantem vi abstracturum. Pavida puella stupente 7
ad clamorem nutricis fidem Quiritium implorantis fit
concursus. Vergini patris sponsique Icili populare no-
men celebratur. Notos gratia eorum, turbam indig-
nitas rei virgini conciliat. Iam a vi tuta erat, cum 8
adsertor nihil opus esse multitudine concitata ait: se
iure grassari, non vi. Vocat puellam in ius. Auctori- 9
bus qui aderant, ut sequeretur, ad tribunal Appi per-
ventum est. Notam iudici fabulam petitor, quippe
apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit; puellam
domi suae natam furtoque inde in domum Vergini trans-
latam suppositam ei esse; id se indicio compertum 10
adferre probaturumque vel ipso Verginio iudice, ad
quem maior pars iniuriae eius pertineat; interim domi-
num sequi ancillam aequum esse. Advocati puellae, 11
cum Verginium rei publicae causa dixissent abesse,
biduo adfuturum, si nuntiatum ei sit, iniquum esse 12
absentem de liberis dimicare, postulant, ut rem inte-
gram in patris adventum differat, lege ab ipso lata vin-
dicias det secundum libertatem neu patiatur virginem
adultam famae prius quam libertatis periculum adire.

Appius decreto praefatur, quam libertati faverit, 45
eam ipsam legem declarare, quam Vergini amici postu-
lationi suae praetendant; ceterum ita in ea firmum li- 2
bertati fore praesidium, si nec causis nec personis variet;

in iis enim, qui adserantur in libertatem, quia quivis lege agere possit, id iuris esse; in ea, quae in patris manu sit, neminem esse alium, cui dominus possessione cedat;
3 placere itaque patrem arcessiri, interea iuris sui iacturam adsertorem non facere quin ducat puellam sistendamque in adventum eius, qui pater dicatur, promittat.
4 Adversus iniuriam decreti cum multi magis fremerent, quam quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius, puellae avus, et sponsus Icilius interveniunt;
5 dataque inter turbam via, cum multitudo Icili maxime interventu resisti posse Appio crederet, lictor decresse
6 ait vociferantemque Icilium submovet. Placidum quoque ingenium tam atrox iniuria accendisset. 'Ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum, Appi,' inquit, 'ut tacitum feras, quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ductu-
7 rus nuptamque pudicam habiturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque lictores convoca; expediri virgas et secures iube; non manebit extra domum patris sponsa
8 Icili. Non, si tribunicium auxilium et provocationem plebi Romanae, duas arces libertatis tuendae, ademistis, ideo in liberos quoque nostros coniugesque regnum
9 vestrae libidini datum est. Saevite in tergum et in cervices nostras; pudicitia saltem in tuto sit! Huic si vis adferetur, ego praesentium Quiritium pro sponsa, Verginius militum pro unica filia, omnes deorum hominumque implorabimus fidem, neque tu istud umquam
10 decretum sine caede nostra referes. Postulo, Appi,
11 etiam atque etiam consideres, quo progrediare. Verginius viderit de filia, ubi venerit, quid agat; hoc tantum sciat, sibi, si huius vindiciis cesserit, condicionem filiae quaerendam esse. Me vindicantem sponsam in libertatem vita citius deseret quam fides.'

Concitata multitudo erat certamenque instare vi- 46
debatur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant; nec ultra
minas tamen processum est, cum Appius non Vergi- 2
niam defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem et tri-
bunatum etiam nunc spirantem locum seditionis quae-
rere diceret. Non praebiturum se illi eo die materiam; 3
sed ut iam sciret non id petulantiae suae sed Verginio
absenti et patrio nomini et libertati datum, ius eo die
se non dicturum neque decretum interpositurum; a M.
Claudio petiturum, ut decederet iure suo vindicarique
puellam in posterum diem pateretur; quod nisi pater 4
postero die adfuisset, denuntiare se Icilio similibusque
Icili, neque legi suae latorem neque decemviro con-
stantiam defore. Nec se utique collegarum lictores
convocaturum ad coercendos seditionis auctores; con-
tentum se suis lictoribus fore.

Cum dilatum tempus iniuriae esset secessissentque 5
advocati puellae, placuit omnium primum fratrem Icili
filiumque Numitori, impigros iuvenes, pergere inde recta
ad portam, et, quantum accelerari posset, Verginium
acciri e castris: in eo verti puellae salutem, si postero 6
die vindex iniuriae ad tempus praesto esset. Iussi per-
gunt citatisque equis nuntium ad patrem perferunt.
Cum instaret adsertor puellae, ut vindicaret sponsores- 7
que daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret Icilius sedulo
tempus terens, dum praeciperent iter nuntii missi in
castra, manus tollere undique multitudo et se quisque
paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille 8
lacrimabundus 'gratum est' inquit; 'crastina die vestra
opera utar, sponsorum nunc satis est.' Ita vindicatur
Verginia spondentibus propinquis.

Appius paulisper moratus, ne eius rei causa sedisse 9

videretur, postquam omissis rebus aliis prae cura unius nemo adibat, domum se recepit collegisque in castra scribit, ne Verginio commeatum dent atque etiam in
10 custodia habeant. Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit, et iam commeatu sumpto profectus Verginius prima vigilia erat, cum postero die mane de retinendo eo nequiquam litterae redduntur.

47 At in urbe prima luce cum civitas in foro exspectatione erecta staret, Verginius sordidatus filiam secum obsoleta veste comitantibus aliquot matronis cum in-
2 genti advocatione in forum deducit. Circumire ibi et prensare homines coepit et non orare solum precariam opem, sed pro debita petere: se pro liberis eorum ac coniugibus cottidie in acie stare, nec alium virum esse, cuius strenue ac fortiter facta in bello plura memorari possent; quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quae capta
3 ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda? Haec prope contionabundus circumibat homines. Similia his
4 ab Icilio iactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox movebat. Adversus quae omnia obstinato animo Appius — tanta vis amentiae verius quam amoris mentem turbaverat — in tribunal escendit, et ultro querente pauca petitore, quod *ius* sibi pridie per ambitionem dictum non esset, priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret aut Verginio respondendi daretur
5 locus, Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem praetenderit, forsan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint; quia nusquam ullum in tanta foeditate decreti veri similem invenio id, quod constat, nudum videtur proponendum, decresse vindicias secundum servitutem.
6 Primo stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit; silentium inde aliquamdiu tenuit. Dein, cum M. Clau-

dius circumstantibus matronis iret ad prendendam virginem lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio excepisset, Verginius intentans in Appium manus 'Icilio' inquit, 7
'Appi, non tibi filiam despondi et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promiscue in concubitus ruere? Passurine haec isti sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros illos, qui arma habent.' Cum re- 8
pelleretur adsertor virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praeconem.

Decemvir, alienatus ad libidinem animo, negat ex **48**
hesterno tantum convicio Icili violentiaque Vergini, cuius testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indiciis compertum se habere nocte tota coetus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem. Itaque 2
se haud inscium eius dimicationis cum armatis descendisse, non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro maiestate imperii coerceret. 'Proinde quiesse erit melius; i' inquit, 'lictor, submove 3
turbam et da viam domino ad prendendum mancipium!' Cum haec intonuisset plenus irae, multitudo ipsa se sua sponte dimovit, desertaque praeda iniuriae puella stabat. Tum Verginius, ubi nihil usquam auxilii vidit, 4
'quaeso' inquit, 'Appi, primum ignosce patrio dolori, si quo inclementius in te sum invectus; deinde sinas hic coram virgine nutricem percontari, quid hoc rei sit, ut, si falso pater dictus sum, aequiore hinc animo discedam.' Data venia seducit filiam ac nutricem prope 5
Cloacinae ad tabernas, quibus nunc novis est nomen, atque ibi ab lanio cultro arrepto 'hoc te uno quo possum' ait 'modo, filia, in libertatem vindico.' Pectus deinde puellae transfigit respectansque ad tribunal 'te' inquit, 'Appi, tuumque caput sanguine hoc consecro.'

6 Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius comprendi Verginium iubet. Ille ferro quacumque ibat viam facere, donec multitudine etiam prosequentium 7 tuente ad portam perrexit. Icilius Numitoriusque exsangue corpus sublatum ostentant populo; scelus Appi, puellae infelicem formam, necessitatem patris deplorant. 8 Sequentes clamitant matronae: eamne liberorum procreandorum condicionem, ea pudicitiae praemia esse?, cetera, quae in tali re muliebris dolor, quo est maestior imbecillo animo, eo miserabilia magis querentibus sub- 9 icit. Virorum et maxime Icili vox tota tribuniciae potestatis ac provocationis ad populum ereptae publicarumque indignationum erat.

49 Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, partim 2 spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis. Appius nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retractantem arripi, postremo, cum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse cum agmine patriciorum iuvenum per turbam vadens 3 in vincula duci iubet. Iam circa Icilium non solum multitudo, sed duces quoque multitudinis erant, L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui repulso lictore, si iure ageret, vindicare se a privato Icilium aiebant; si vim adferre conaretur, ibi quoque haud impares fore. Hinc atrox 4 rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit; franguntur a multitudine fasces. In contionem Appius escendit; secuntur Horatius Valeriusque. 5 Eos contio audit; decemviro obstrepitur. Iam pro imperio Valerius discedere a privato lictores iubebat, cum fractis animis Appius vitae metuens in domum se propinquam foro insciis adversariis capite obvoluto recipit. 6 Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegae esset, in forum ex altera parte irrumpit. Videt imperium vi victum.

Agitatus deinde consiliis, ad quae ex omni parte adsentiendo multis auctoribus trepidaverat, senatum postremo vocari iussit. Ea res, quod magnae parti patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per senatum finiendae potestatis eius multitudinem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem irritandam censuit et multo magis providendum, ne quid Vergini adventus in exercitu motus faceret.

Itaque missi iuniores patrum in castra, quae tum in monte Vecilio erant, nuntiant decemviris, ut omni ope ab seditione milites contineant. Ibi Verginius maiorem, quam reliquerat in urbe, motum excivit. Nam praeterquam quod agmine prope quadringentorum hominum veniens, qui ab urbe indignitate rei accensi comites ei se dederant, conspectus est, strictum etiam telum respersusque ipse cruore tota in se castra convertit. Et togae multifariam in castris visae maioris aliquanto, quam erat, speciem urbanae multitudinis fecerant. Quaerentibus, quid rei esset, flens diu vocem non misit; tandem, ut iam ex trepidatione concurrentium turba constitit ac silentium fuit, ordine cuncta, ut gesta erant, exposuit. Supinas deinde tendens manus commilitones appellans orabat, ne, quod scelus Ap. Claudi esset, sibi attribuerent neu se ut parricidam liberum aversarentur. Sibi vitam filiae sua cariorem fuisse, si liberae ac pudicae vivere licitum fuisset; cum velut servam ad stuprum rapi videret, morte amitti melius ratum quam contumelia liberos, misericordia se in speciem crudelitatis lapsum. Nec se superstitem filiae futurum fuisse, nisi spem ulciscendae mortis eius in auxilio commilitonum habuisset. Illis quoque enim filias, sorores coniugesque esse, nec cum filia sua libi-

50 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 7

dinem Ap. Claudi exstinctam esse, sed quo impunitior
8 sit, eo effrenatiorem fore. Aliena calamitate documentum datum illis cavendae similis iniuriae. Quod ad se attineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam, filiam, quia non ultra pudica victura fuerit, miseram, sed honestam mor-
9 tem occubuisse; non esse iam Appi libidini locum in domo sua; ab alia violentia eius eodem se animo suum corpus vindicaturum, quo vindicaverit filiae; ceteri sibi ac liberis suis consulerent.

10 Haec Verginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo nec illius dolori nec suae libertati se defuturos. Et immixti turbae militum togati eadem illa querendo docendoque, quanto visa quam audita indigniora potuerint videri, simul profligatam iam rem nuntiando Romae
11 esse, insecutique, qui Appium prope interemptum in exsilium abisse dicerent, perpulerunt, ut ad arma conclamaretur vellerentque signa et Romam proficisce-
12 rentur. Decemviri, simul iis, quae videbant, iisque quae acta Romae audierant, perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum ad sedandos motus discurrunt. Et leniter agentibus responsum non redditur; imperium si quis
13 inhiberet, et viros et armatos se esse respondetur. Eunt agmine ad urbem et Aventinum insidunt, ut quisque occurrerat, plebem ad repetendam libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis adhortantes. Alia vox nulla violenta audita est.

14 Senatum Sp. Oppius habet. Nihil placet aspere
15 agi: quippe ab ipsis datum locum seditioni esse. Mittuntur tres legati consulares Sp. Tarpeius, C. Iulius, P. Sulpicius, qui quaererent senatus verbis, cuius iussu castra deseruissent, aut quid sibi vellent, qui armati Aventinum obsedissent belloque averso ab hostibus pa-

triam suam cepissent. Non defuit, quod responderetur; deerat, qui daret responsum nullodum certo duce nec satis audentibus singulis invidiae se offerre. Id modo a multitudine conclamatum est, ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent: iis se daturos responsum. 16

Dimissis legatis admonet milites Verginius in re non maxima paulo ante trepidatum esse, quia sine capite multitudo fuerit, responsumque quamquam non inutiliter, fortuito tamen magis consensu quam communi consilio esse. Placere decem creari, qui summae rei praeessent, militarique honore tribunos militum appellari. Cum ad eum ipsum primum is honos deferretur, 'melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate' inquit 'ista de me iudicia; nec mihi filia inulta honorem ullum iucundum esse patitur, nec in perturbata re publica eos utile est praeesse vobis, qui proximi invidiae sint. Si quis usus mei est, nihilo minor ex privato capietur.' Ita decem numero tribunos militares creant. 51 2 3 4 5 6

Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus. Ibi quoque auctore Icilio Numitorioque secessio ab decemviris facta est non minore motu animorum Sicci caedis memoria renovata, quam quem nova fama de virgine adeo foede ad libidinem petita accenderat. Icilius, ubi audivit tribunos militum in Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militarium praerogativam urbana comitia iisdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium imminensque ei potestati et ipse, priusquam iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat. Porta Collina urbem intravere sub signis mediaque urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi coniuncti alteri exercitui viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt, ut ex suo numero duos 7 8 9 10

crearent, qui summae rerum praeessent. M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium creant.

11 Patres solliciti de summa rerum, cum senatus cottidie esset, iurgiis saepius terunt tempus quam consiliis.
12 Sicci caedes decemviris et Appiana libido et dedecora militiae obiciebantur. Placebat Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros, quam si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratus eius, quo
13 anno iam ante abissent. Decemviri querentes se in ordinem cogi non ante quam perlatis legibus, quarum causa creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant.

52 Per M. Duillium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs contentionibus adsiduis nihil transigi, in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit adfirmante Du-
2 illio non prius, quam deseri urbem videant, curam in animos patrum descensuram; admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiae plebis, sciturosque sine restituta potestate *tribunicia* redigi in concordiam resne queant.
3 Via Nomentana, cui tum Ficulensi nomen fuit, profecti castra in monte Sacro locavere modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs
4 nullo, qui per aetatem ire posset, retractante. Prosecuntur coniuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in ea urbe, in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas sancta esset, miserabiliter rogitantes.

5 Cum vasta Romae omnia insueta solitudo fecisset, in foro praeter paucos seniorum nemo esset, vocatis utique in senatum patribus desertum apparuisset forum, plures iam quam Horatius ac Valerius vociferabantur:
6 'quid exspectabitis, patres conscripti? Si decemviri finem pertinaciae non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare omnia passuri estis? Quod autem istud imperium est, decem-

viri, quod amplexi tenetis? Tectis ac parietibus iura 7
dicturi estis? Non pudet lictorum vestrorum maiorem
prope numerum in foro conspici quam togatorum alio-
rum? Quid, si hostes ad urbem veniant, facturi estis?
Quid, si plebs mox, ubi parum secessione moveamur,
armata veniat? Occasune urbis vultis finire imperium? 8
Atqui aut plebs non est habenda, aut habendi sunt tri-
buni plebis. Nos citius caruerimus patriciis magistra-
tibus quam illi plebeis. Novam inexpertamque eam 9
potestatem eripuere patribus nostris; ne nunc dul-
cedine semel capti ferant desiderium, cum praesertim
nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minus illi auxilii
egeant?' Cum haec ex omni parte iactarentur, victi 10
consensu decemviri futuros se, quando ita videatur, in
potestate patrum adfirmant. Id modo simul orant ac 11
monent, ut ipsis ab invidia caveatur nec suo sanguine
ad supplicia patrum plebem adsuefaciant.

Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi ad plebem condi- 53
cionibus quibus videretur revocandam componendas-
que res decemviris quoque ab ira et impetu multitu-
dinis praecavere iubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis 2
in castra accipiuntur, quippe liberatores haud dubie
et motus initio et exitu rei. Ob haec iis advenienti-
bus gratiae actae. Icilius pro multitudine verba facit. 3
Idem, cum de condicionibus ageretur, quaerentibus
legatis, quae postulata plebis essent, composito iam
ante adventum legatorum consilio ea postulavit, ut
appareret in aequitate rerum plus quam in armis reponi
spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam provocationemque 4
repetebant, quae ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis
fuerant, et ne cui fraudi esset concisse milites aut plebem
ad repetendam per secessionem libertatem. De decem- 5

virorum modo supplicio atrox postulatum fuit: dedi quippe eos aequum censebant vivosque igni concrematuros minabantur.

6 Legati ad ea: 'quae consilii fuerunt, adeo aequa postulastis, ut ultro vobis deferenda fuerint; libertati enim ea praesidia petitis, non licentiae ad impugnandos 7 alios. Irae vestrae magis ignoscendum quam indulgendum est, quippe qui crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis et prius paene, quam ipsi liberi sitis, dominari 8 iam in adversarios vultis. Numquamne quiescet civitas nostra a suppliciis aut patrum in plebem Romanam 9 aut plebis in patres? Scuto vobis magis quam gladio opus est. Satis superque humilis est, qui iure aequo in civitate vivit nec inferendo iniuriam nec patiendo. 10 Etiam si quando metuendos vos praebituri estis, cum reciperatis magistratibus legibusque vestris iudicia penes vos erunt de capite nostro fortunisque, tunc ut quaeque causa erit statuetis; nunc libertatem repeti satis est.'

54 Facerent ut vellent permittentibus cunctis mox re- 2 dituros se legati rebus perfectis adfirmant. Profecti cum mandata plebis patribus exposuissent, alii decemviri, quando quidem praeter spem ipsorum supplicii 3 sui nulla mentio fieret, haud quicquam abnuere; Appius, truci ingenio et invidia praecipua, odium in se aliorum suo in eos metiens odio 'haud ignaro' inquit 'imminet 4 fortuna. Video, donec arma adversariis tradantur, differri adversus nos certamen. Dandus invidiae est sanguis. Nihil ne ego quidem moror, quo minus decemviratu 5 abeam.' Factum senatus consultum, ut decemviri se primo quoque tempore magistratu abdicarent, Q. Furius pontifex maximus tribunos plebis crearet, et ne cui fraudi esset secessio militum plebisque.

His senatus consultis perfectis dimisso senatu de- 6
cemviri prodeunt in contionem abdicantque se magis-
tratu ingenti hominum laetitia.

Nuntiantur haec plebi. Legatos quidquid in urbe 7
hominum supererat prosequitur. Huic multitudini laeta
alia turba ex castris occurrit. Congratulantur liberta-
tem concordiamque civitati restitutam. Legati pro 8
contione: 'quod bonum, faustum felixque sit vobis
reique publicae, redite in patriam ad penates, coniuges
liberosque vestros; sed, qua hic modestia fuistis, ubi
nullius ager in tot rerum usu necessario tantae multitu-
dini est violatus, eam modestiam ferte in urbem! In
Aventinum ite, unde profecti estis! Ibi felici loco, 9
ubi prima initia inchoastis libertatis vestrae, tribunos
plebi creabitis. Praesto erit pontifex maximus, qui
comitia habeat.' Ingens adsensus alacritasque cuncta 10
adprobantium fuit. Convellunt inde signa profectique
Romam certant cum obviis gaudio. Armati per urbem
silentio in Aventinum perveniunt.

Ibi extemplo pontifice maximo comitia habente tri- 11
bunos plebis creaverunt, omnium primum L. Vergi-
nium, inde L. Icilium et P. Numitorium, avunculum
Vergini, auctores secessionis, tum C. Sicinium, proge- 12
niem eius, quem primum tribunum plebis creatum in
Sacro monte proditum memoriae est, et M. Duillium,
qui tribunatum insignem ante decemviros creatos ges-
serat nec in decemviralibus certaminibus plebi defuerat.
Spe deinde magis quam meritis electi M. Titinius, M. 13
Pomponius, C. Apronius, Ap. Villius, C. Oppius. Tribu- 14
natu inito L. Icilius extemplo plebem rogavit, et plebs
scivit, ne cui fraudi esset secessio ab decemviris facta.
Confestim de consulibus creandis cum provocatione M. 15

Duillius rogationem pertulit. Ea omnia in pratis Flaminiis concilio plebis acta, quem nunc circum Flaminium appellant.

55 Per interregem deinde consules creati L. Valerius, M. Horatius, qui extemplo magistratum occeperunt. Quorum consulatus popularis sine ulla patrum iniuria 2 nec sine offensione fuit; quidquid enim libertati plebis 3 caveretur, id suis decedere opibus credebant. Omnium primum cum velut in controverso iure esset, tenerenturne patres plebi scitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere, ut, quod tributim plebes iussisset, populum teneret; qua lege tribuniciis rogationibus telum acerrimum 4 datum est. Aliam deinde consularem legem de provocatione, unicum praesidium libertatis, decemvirali potestate eversam, non restituunt modo sed etiam in pos- 5 terum muniunt sanciendo novam legem, ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet; qui creasset, eum ius fasque esset occidi, neve ea caedes capitalis 6 noxae haberetur. Et cum plebem hinc provocatione, hinc tribunicio auxilio satis firmassent, ipsis quoque tribunis, ut sacrosancti viderentur, cuius rei prope iam memoria aboleverat, relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo caerimoniis renovarunt, et cum religione inviolatos eos tum lege etiam fecerunt sanciendo, ut, qui tribunis plebis, aedilibus, iudicibus decemviris nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum esset, familia ad aedem Cereris, 8 Liberi Liberaeque venum iret. Hac lege iuris interpretes negant quemquam sacrosanctum esse, sed eum, 9 qui eorum cuiquam nocuerit, Io*vi* sacrum sanciri; itaque aedilem prendi ducique a maioribus magistratibus, quod etsi non iure fiat — noceri enim ei, cui hac lege non liceat —, tamen argumentum esse non haberi pro

sacrosancto aedilem; tribunos vetere iure iurando plebis, 10
cum primum eam potestatem creavit, sacrosanctos
esse. Fuere, qui interpretarentur eadem hac Horatia 11
lege consulibus quoque et praetoribus, quia eisdem
auspiciis quibus consules crearentur, cautum esse; iudi-
cem enim consulem appellari. Quae refellitur inter- 12
pretatio, quod iis temporibus nondum consulem iudicem,
sed praetorem appellari mos fuerit. Hae consulares 13
leges fuere.

Institutum etiam ab iisdem consulibus, ut senatus consulta in aedem Cereris ad aediles plebis deferrentur, quae antea arbitrio consulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque. M. Duillius deinde tribunus plebis ple- 14
bem rogavit plebesque scivit, qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset quique magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo ac capite puniretur. Haec omnia ut invitis, ita 15
non adversantibus patriciis transacta, quia nondum in quemquam unum saeviebatur.

Fundata deinde et potestate tribunicia et plebis li- 56
bertate tum tribuni adgredi singulos tutum maturumque iam rati accusatorem primum Verginium et Appium reum deligunt. Cum diem Appio Verginius di- 2
xisset et Appius stipatus patriciis iuvenibus in forum descendisset, redintegrata extemplo est omnibus memoria foedissimae potestatis, cum ipsum satellitesque eius vidissent. Tum Verginius 'oratio' inquit 'rebus 3
dubiis inventa est; itaque neque ego accusando apud vos eum tempus teram, a cuius crudelitate vosmet ipsi armis vindicastis nec istum ad cetera scelera impudentiam in defendendo se adicere patiar. Omnium igitur 4
tibi, Ap. Claudi, quae impie nefarieque per biennium alia super alia es ausus, gratiam facio; unius tantum

criminis nisi iudicem dices, te ab libertate in servitutem contra leges vindicias non dedisse, in vincla te duci iubebo.'

5 Nec in tribunicio auxilio Appius nec in iudicio populi ullam spem habebat; tamen et tribunos appellavit et nullo morante arreptus a viatore 'provoco' inquit. 6 Audita vox una vindex libertatis, ex eo missa ore, quo vindiciae nuper ab libertate dictae erant, silentium 7 fecit. Et dum pro se quisque deos tandem esse et non neglegere humana fremunt, et superbiae crudelitatique 8 etsi seras, non leves tamen venire poenas: provocare, qui provocationem sustulisset, et implorare praesidium populi, qui omnia iura populi obtrisset, rapique in vincla egentem iure libertatis, qui liberum corpus in servitutem addixisset, ipsius Appi inter contionis murmur 9 fidem populi Romani implorantis vox audiebatur. Maiorum merita in rem publicam domi militiaeque commemorabat, suum infelix erga plebem Romanam studium, quo aequandarum legum causa cum maxima offensione patrum consulatu abisset, suas leges, quibus manenti- 10 bus lator earum in vincla ducatur. Ceterum sua propria bona malaque, cum causae dicendae data facultas sit, tum se experturum; in praesentia se communi iure civitatis civem Romanum die dicta postulare, ut dicere liceat, ut iudicium populi Romani experiri. Non ita se invidiam pertimuisse, ut nihil in aequitate et 11 misericordia civium suorum spei habeat. Quod si indicta causa in vincla ducatur, iterum se tribunos plebei 12 appellare et monere, ne imitentur quos oderint. Quod si tribuni eodem foedere obligatos se fateantur tollendae appellationis, in quod conspirasse decemviros criminati sint, at se provocare ad populum; implorare leges

de provocatione et consulares et tribunicias eo ipso anno latas. Quem enim provocaturum, si hoc indemnato indicta causa non liceat? Cui plebeio et humili praesidium in legibus fore, si Ap. Claudio non sit? Se documento futurum, utrum novis legibus dominatio an libertas firmata sit et appellatio provocatioque adversus iniuriam magistratuum ostentata tantum inanibus litteris an vere data sit. 13

Contra ea Verginius unum Ap. Claudium et legum expertem et civilis et humani foederis esse aiebat. Respicerent tribunal homines, castellum omnium scelerum, ubi decemvir ille perpetuus bonis, tergo, sanguini civium infestus, virgas securesque omnibus minitans, deorum hominumque contemptor, carnificibus, non lictoribus stipatus, iam ab rapinis et caedibus animo ad libidinem verso virginem ingenuam in oculis populi Romani velut bello captam ab complexu patris abreptam ministro cubiculi sui clienti dono dederit; ubi crudeli decreto nefandisque vindiciis dextram patris in filiam armaverit; ubi tollentes corpus semianime virginis sponsum avumque in carcerem duci iusserit, stupro interpellato magis quam caede motus. Et illi carcerem aedificatum esse, quod domicilium plebis Romanae vocare sit solitus. Proinde ut ille iterum ac saepius provocet, sic se iterum ac saepius iudicem illi ferre, ni vindicias ab libertate in servitutem dederit; si ad iudicem non eat, pro damnato in vincla duci iubere. Ut haud quoquam improbante sic magno motu animorum, cum tanti viri supplicio suamet plebi iam nimia libertas videretur, in carcerem est coniectus. Tribunus ei diem prodixit. 57 2 3 4 5 6

Inter haec ab Latinis et Hernicis legati gratulatum 7

de concordia patrum ac plebis Romam venerunt donumque ob eam Iovi optimo maximo coronam auream in Capitolium tulere parvi ponderis prout res haud opulentae erant colebanturque religiones pie magis
8 quam magnifice. Iisdem auctoribus cognitum est Ae-
9 quos Volscosque summa vi bellum apparare. Itaque partiri provincias consules iussi. Horatio Sabini, Valerio Aequi evenere. Cum ad ea bella dilectum edixissent, favore plebis non iuniores modo sed emeritis etiam stipendiis pars magna voluntariorum ad nomina danda praesto fuere, eoque non copia modo, sed genere etiam militum, veteranis admixtis, firmior exercitus fuit.
10 Priusquam urbe egrederentur, leges decemvirales, quibus tabulis duodecim est nomen, in aes incisas in publico proposuerunt. Sunt qui iussu tribunorum aediles functos eo ministerio scribant.

58 C. Claudius, qui perosus decemvirorum scelera et ante omnes fratris filii superbiae infestus Regillum antiquam in patriam se contulerat, is magno iam natu, cum ad pericula eius deprecanda redisset, cuius vitia fugerat, sordidatus cum gentilibus clientibusque in foro
2 prensabat singulos orabatque, ne Claudiae genti eam inustam maculam vellent, ut carcere et vinculis viderentur digni. Virum honoratissimae imaginis futurum ad posteros, legum latorem conditoremque Romani iuris, iacere vinctum inter fures nocturnos ac latrones!
3 Averterent ab ira parumper ad cognitionem cogitationemque animos et potius unum tot Claudiis deprecantibus condonarent, quam propter unius odium multo-
4 rum preces aspernarentur. Se quoque id generi ac nomini dare nec cum eo in gratiam redisse, cuius adversae fortunae velit succursum. Virtute libertatem

recuperatam esse; clementia concordiam ordinum stabiliri posse.

Erant, quos moveret sua magis pietate quam eius, 5
pro quo agebat, causa; sed Verginius sui potius ut
misererentur orabat filiaeque nec gentis Claudiae reg-
num in plebem sortitae, sed necessariorum Verginiae,
trium tribunorum, preces audirent, qui ad auxilium
plebis creati ipsi plebis fidem atque auxilium implora-
rent. Iustiores hae lacrimae videbantur. Itaque spe 6
incisa, priusquam prodicta dies adesset, Appius mortem
sibi conscivit.

Subinde arreptus a P. Numitorio Sp. Oppius, pro- 7
ximus invidiae, quod in urbe fuerat, cum iniustae vin-
diciae a collega dicerentur. Plus tamen facta iniuria 8
Oppio quam non prohibita invidiae fecit. Testis pro-
ductus, qui septem et viginti enumeratis stipendiis
octiens extra ordinem donatus donaque ea gerens in
conspectu populi, scissa veste tergum laceratum virgis
ostendit nihilum deprecans, quin, si quam suam noxam
reus dicere posset, privatus iterum in se saeviret. Op- 9
pius quoque ductus in vincula est et ante iudicii diem
finem ibi vitae fecit. Bona Claudi Oppique tribuni
publicavere. Collegae eorum exsilii causa solum ver-
terunt: bona publicata sunt. Et M. Claudius adsertor 10
Verginiae, die dicta damnatus ipso remittente Verginio
ultimam poenam dimissus Tibur exsulatum abiit, manes-
que Verginiae, mortuae quam vivae felicioris, per tot 11
domos ad petendas poenas vagati nullo relicto sonte
tandem quieverunt.

LIBER V

21–22, 33–49

21 Ingens profecta multitudo replevit castra. Tum dictator auspicato egressus, cum edixisset, ut arma mi-
2 lites caperent, 'tuo ductu' inquit, 'Pythice Apollo tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios tibique hinc decimam partem praedae voveo.
3 Te simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum ac-
4 cipiat.' Haec precatus superante multitudine ab omnibus locis urbem adgreditur, quo minor ab cuniculo
5 ingruentis periculi sensus esset. Veientes, ignari se iam a suis vatibus, iam ab externis oraculis proditos, iam in partem praedae suae vocatos deos, alios votis ex urbe sua evocatos hostium templa novasque sedes
6 spectare seque ultimum illum diem agere, nihil minus timentes quam subrutis cuniculo moenibus arcem iam plenam hostium esse in muros pro se quisque armati
7 discurrunt mirantes, quidnam id esset, quod, cum tot per dies nemo se ab stationibus Romanus movisset, tum velut repentino icti furore improvidi currerent ad muros.
8 Inseritur huic loco fabula: immolante rege Veientium vocem haruspicis dicentis, qui eius hostiae exta prosecuisset, ei victoriam dari exauditam in cuniculo movisse Romanos milites, ut adaperto cuniculo exta

raperent et ad dictatorem ferrent. Sed in rebus tam 9
antiquis si, quae similia veris sint, pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam; haec ad ostentationem scaenae gaudentis miraculis aptiora quam ad fidem neque adfirmare neque refellere operae pretium est.

Cuniculus delectis militibus eo tempore plenus in 10
aedem Iunonis, quae in Veientana arce erat, armatos repente edidit, et pars aversos in muris invadunt hostes, pars claustra portarum revellunt, pars, cum ex tectis saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac servitiis iacerentur, inferunt ignes. Clamor omnia variis terrentium ac 11
paventium vocibus mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu complet. Momento temporis deiectis ex muro undique 12
armatis patefactisque portis cum alii agmine irruerent, alii desertos scanderent muros, urbs hostibus impletur; omnibus locis pugnatur; deinde multa iam edita caede 13
senescit pugna, et dictator praecones edicere iubet, ut ab inermi abstineatur. Is finis sanguinis fuit.

Dedi inde inermes coepti, et ad praedam miles per- 14
missu dictatoris discurrit. Quae cum ante oculus eius aliquantum spe atque opinione maior maiorisque pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur manus ad caelum tollens precatus esse, ut, si cui deorum hominumque nimia sua 15
fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo publicoque populi Romani liceret. Convertentem se inter hanc 16
venerationem traditur memoriae prolapsum cecidisse, idque omen pertinuisse postea eventu rem coniectantibus visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli, captae deinde urbis Romanae, quod post paucos accidit annos, cladem. Atque ille dies caede hostium ac direptione 17
urbis opulentissimae est consumptus.

22 Postero die libera corpora dictator sub corona vendidit. Ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine ira plebis; et quod rettulere secum praedae, nec duci, qui ad senatum malignitatis auctores quaerendo, 2 rem arbitrii sui reiecisset, nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae, ex qua filius ad senatum rettulisset, pater tam popularis sententiae auctor fuisset, acceptum referebant.

3 Cum iam humanae opes egestae a Veis essent, amoliri tum deum dona ipsosque deos, sed colentium magis 4 quam rapientium modo, coepere. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere primo religiose admoventes manus, quod id signum more Etrusco nisi 5 certae gentis sacerdos adtrectare non esset solitus. Dein cum quidam seu spiritu divino tactus seu iuvenali ioco 'visne Romam ire, Iuno?' dixisset, adnuisse ceteri 6 deam conclamaverunt. Inde fabulae adiectum est vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam; motam certe sede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem tralatu fuisse integramque in Aven- 7 tinum, aeternam sedem suam, quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant, perlatam, ubi templum ei postea idem qui voverat, Camillus dedicavit.

8 Hic Veiorum occasus fuit, urbis opulentissimae Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam vel ultima clade indicantis, quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessa, cum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset quam accepisset, postremo iam fato quoque urgente operibus tamen, non vi expugnata est.

33–49

Expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humano- 33
rum certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante
fatali urbi clade legati ab Clusinis veniunt auxilium
adversus Gallos petentes. Eam gentem traditur fama 2
dulcedine frugum maximeque vini, nova tum voluptate,
captam Alpes transisse agrosque ab Etruscis ante cultos
possedisse; et invexisse in Galliam vinum illiciendae 3
gentis causa Arruntem Clusinum ira corruptae uxoris
ab Lucumone, cui tutor ipse fuerat, praepotente iuvene
et a quo expeti poenae, nisi externa vis quaesita esset,
nequirent; hunc transeuntibus Alpes ducem auctorem- 4
que Clusium oppugnandi fuisse.

Equidem haud abnuerim Clusium Gallos ab Arrunte
seu quo alio Clusino adductos; sed eos, qui oppugna- 5
verint Clusium, non fuisse, qui primi Alpes transierint,
satis constat. Ducentis quippe annis ante, quam Clu-
sium oppugnarent urbemque Romam caperent, in Ita-
liam Galli transcenderunt; nec cum his primum Etrus- 6
corum, sed multo ante cum iis, qui inter Appenni-
num Alpesque incolebant, saepe exercitus Gallici pug-
navere. Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra 7
marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus
Italia insulae modo cingitur, quantum potuerint, no-
mina sunt argumento quod alterum Tuscum communi
vocabulo gentis, alterum Hadriaticum mare ab Hadria,
Tuscorum colonia, vocavere Italicae gentes; Graeci
eadem Tyrrhenum atque Hadriaticum vocant. Et in 8
utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis 9
terras, prius cis Appenninum ad inferum mare, postea

trans Appenninum totidem, quot capita originis erant,
10 coloniis missis, quae trans Padum omnia loca excepto
Venetorum angulo, qui sinum circumcolunt maris,
11 usque ad Alpes tenuere. Alpinis quoque ea gentibus
haud dubie origo est, maxime Raetis, quos loca ipsa
efferarunt, ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae,
nec eum incorruptum, retinerent.

34 De transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus:
Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante Celtarum, quae pars
Galliae tertia est, penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit;
2 ii regem Celtico dabant. Ambigatus is fuit, virtute
fortunaque cum sua tum publica praepollens, quod in
imperio eius Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis
fuit, ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur posse.
3 Hic magno natu ipse iam exonerare praegravante turba
regnum cupiens Bellovesum ac Segovesum, sororis
filios, impigros iuvenes, missurum se esse in quas dii
4 dedissent auguriis sedes ostendit: quantum ipsi vellent
numerum hominum excirent, ne qua gens arcere ad-
venientes posset. Tum Segoveso sortibus dati Her-
cynii saltus; Belloveso haud paulo laetiorem in Italiam
5 viam di dabant. Is, quod eius ex populis abundabat,
Bituriges, Arvernos, Senones, Haeduos, Ambarros, Car-
nutes, Aulercos excivit. Profectus ingentibus peditum
equitumque copiis in Tricastinos venit. Alpes inde
6 oppositae erant; quas inexsuperabiles visas haud equidem
miror nulladum via, quod quidem continens memoria
sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas.
7 Ibi cum velut saeptos montium altitudo teneret Gallos
circumspectarentque, quanam per iuncta caelo iuga
in alium orbem terrarum transirent, religio etiam tenuit,
quod adlatum est advenas quaerentes agrum ab Sal-

luvium gente oppugnari. Massilienses erant ii navibus 8
a Phocaea profecti. Id Galli fortunae suae omen rati
adiuvere, ut, quem primum in terram egressi occupa-
verant locum, patientibus Salluviis communirent.. Ipsi 9
per Taurinos saltus *vallem*que Duriae Alpis transcen-
derunt fusisque acie Tuscis haud procul Ticino flumine,
cum in quo consederant, agrum Insubrium appellari
audissent, cognominem Insubribus, pago Haeduorum
ibi omen sequentes loci condidere urbem; Mediolanium
appellarunt.

Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum Etitovio duce ves- 35
tigia priorum secuta eodem saltu favente Belloveso
cum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona
urbes sunt, locos tenuere. Libui considunt post hos 2
Salluviique prope antiquam gentem Laevos Ligures
incolentes circa Ticinum amnem. Poenino deinde Boii
Lingonesque transgressi, cum iam inter Padum atque
Alpes omnia tenerentur, Pado ratibus traiecto non
Etruscos modo, sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt; intra
Appenninum tamen sese tenuere. Tum Senones, re- 3
centissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad
Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium Romam-
que inde venisse comperio; id parum certum est, solamne
an ab omnibus Cisalpinorum Gallorum populis adiutam.

Clusini novo bello exterriti cum multitudinem, cum 4
formas hominum invisitatas cernerent et genus armo-
rum audirentque saepe ab iis cis Padum ultraque le-
giones Etruscorum fusas, quamquam adversus Romanos
nullum eis ius societatis amicitiaeve erat, nisi quod
Veientes consanguineos adversus populum Romanum
non defendissent, legatos Romam, qui auxilium ab se-
natu peterent, misere. De auxilio nihil impetratum; 5

legati *tres* M. Fabi Ambusti filii missi qui senatus populique Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis, ne, a quibus nullam iniuriam accepissent, socios populi Romani
6 atque amicos oppugnarent. Romanis eos bello quoque, si res cogat, tuendos esse; sed melius visum bellum ipsum amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potius cognosci quam armis.

36 Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus, postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio Gallorum, datur respon-
2 sum: etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium a Clusi-
3 nis in re trepida sit imploratum; et quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios ne se quidem pacem, quam illi adferant, aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium concedant; aliter pacem
4 impetrari non posse. Et responsum coram Romanis accipere velle et, si negetur ager, coram iisdem Romanis dimicaturos, ut nuntiare domum possent, quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent.

5 Quodnam id ius esset, agrum a possessoribus petere aut minari arma, Romanis quaerentibus, et quid in Etruria rei Gallis esset, cum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium virorum esse ferociter dicerent, accensis utrimque animis ad arma discurritur et proelium con-
6 seritur. Ibi iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt. Nec id clam esse potuit, cum ante signa Etruscorum tres nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae iuventutis pugnarent; tantum
7 eminebat peregrina virtus. Quin etiam Q. Fabius evectus extra aciem equo ducem Gallorum ferociter

in ipsa signa Etruscorum incursantem per latus transfixum hasta occidit; spoliaque eius legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem Romanum legatum esse signum datum est.

Omissa inde in Clusinos ira receptui canunt minantes 8
Romanis. Erant, qui extemplo Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores, ut legati prius mitterentur questum iniurias postulatumque, ut pro iure gentium violato Fabii dederentur. Legati Gallorum cum ea, sicut 9
erant, mandata exposuissent, senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum, et ius postulare barbari videbantur; sed ne id, quod placebat, decerneret in tantae nobilitatis viris, ambitio obstabat. Itaque ne penes ipsos culpa 10
esset, *si* clades forent Gallico bello acceptae, cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum reiciunt; ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valuere, ut, quorum de poena agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in insequentem annum crearentur. Quo facto haud secus 11
quam dignum erat, infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes ad suos redeunt. Tribuni militum cum tribus 12
Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius quartum, P. Cornelius Maluginensis.

Cum tanta moles mali instaret — adeo obcaecat ani- 37
mos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult —, civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos ultima experiens auxilia dictatorem multis tempestatibus dixisset, ea
tunc invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terra- 2
rumque ultimis oris bellum ciente nihil extraordinarii imperii aut auxilii quaesivit. Tribuni, quorum tem- 3
eritate bellum contractum erat, summae rerum praeerant dilectumque nihilo accuratiorem, quam ad media

bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes etiam famam belli habebant.

4 Interim Galli, postquam accepere ultro honorem habitum violatoribus iuris humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantes ira, cuius impotens est gens, confestim signis convulsis citato agmine iter ingredi-
5 untur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumultum cum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore significabant, quacumque ibant, equis virisque longe ac late
6 fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci. Sed antecedente fama nuntiisque Clusinorum, deinceps inde aliorum populorum plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium
7 tulit, quippe quibus velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto aegre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen Alia Crustuminis montibus praealto defluens alveo haud multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur.
8 Iam omnia contra circaque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.

38 Ibi tribuni militum non loco castris ante capto, non praemunito vallo, quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores nec auspicato nec litato instruunt aciem diductam in cornua, ne circum-
2 veniri multitudine hostium possent; nec tamen aequari frontes poterant, cum extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem mediam aciem haberent. Paulum erat ab dextera editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleri placuit; eaque res ut initium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus
3 fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in paucitate hostium artem maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum, ut, ubi Galli cum acie le-

gionum recta fronte concurrissent, subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos loco depulisset, haud dubius facilem 4
in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudine victoriam fore; adeo non fortuna modo, sed ratio etiam cum barbaris stabat. In altera acie nihil simile Romanis non 5
apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium oblivio, ut multo maior pars Veios, in hostium urbem, cum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est lucus; in 6
reliqua acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene quam viderent, non modo non temptato certamine, sed ne clamore quidem reddito integri intactique fugerunt; nec ulla caedes pugnantium fuit; terga caesa suomet 7
ipsorum certamine in turba impedientium fugam. Circa 8
ripam Tiberis, quo armis abiectis totum sinistrum cornu refugit, magna strages facta est, multosque imperitos nandi aut invalidos graves loricis aliisque tegminibus, hausere gurgites. Maxima tamen pars incolumis Veios 9
perfugit, unde non modo praesidii quicquam, sed ne nuntius quidem cladis Romam est missus. Ab dextro 10
cornu, quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes petiere et ne clausis quidem portis urbis in arcem confugerunt.

Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum vic- 39
toriae tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore defixi primum steterunt velut ignari, quid accidisset; deinde insidias vereri; postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacervare; tum demum, 2
postquam nihil usquam hostile cernebatur, viam in-

gressi haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Ubi cum praegressi equites non portas clausas, non stationem pro portis excubare, non armatos esse in muris rettulissent, aliud priori si-
3 mile miraculum eos sustinuit; noctemque veriti et ignotae situm urbis inter Romam atque Anienem consedere exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas, quaenam hostibus in perdita re consilia essent.
4 Romani, cum pars maior ex acie Veios petisset quam Romam, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos, qui Romam refugerant, crederet, complorati omnes pariter vivi mortuique totam prope urbem lamentis im-
5 pleverunt. Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam hostes adesse nuntiatum est; mox ululatus cantusque dissonos vagantibus circa moenia
6 turmatim barbaris audiebant. Omne inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem iam in urbem futurus videretur impetus; primo adventu, quia accesserant ad urbem — mansuros
7 enim ad Aliam fuisse, nisi hoc consilii foret —; deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, ante noctem rati invasuros; tum in noctem dilatum consilium esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent; postremo
8 lux adpropinquans exanimare; timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit, cum signa infesta portis sunt inlata. Nequaquam tamen ea nocte neque insequenti die similis illi, quae ad Aliam tam pavide fu-
9 gerat, civitas fuit. Nam cum defendi urbem posse tam parva relicta manu spes nulla esset, placuit cum coniugibus ac liberis iuventutem militarem senatusque
10 robur in arcem Capitoliumque concedere armisque et frumento collato ex loco inde munito deos homines-

que et Romanum nomen defendere; flaminem sacerdotes- 11
que Vestales sacra publica a caede, ab incendiis procul
auferre nec ante deseri cultum deorum, quam non supe-
essent, qui colerent. Si arx Capitoliumque, sedes deo- 12
rum, si senatus, caput publici consilii, si militaris iuventus
superfuerit imminenti ruinae urbis, facilem iacturam esse
seniorum relictae in urbe utique periturae turbae. Et 13
quo id aequiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes
triumphales consularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere
obituros nec his corporibus, quibus non arma ferre, non
tueri patriam possent, oneraturos inopiam armatorum.

Haec inter seniores morti desinatos iactata so- **40**
lacia. Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum,
quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequebantur,
commendantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis per
trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis, quae-
cumque reliqua esset fortuna. Digredientibus, qui spem 2
omnem atque opem secum ferebant, ab iis, qui captae
urbis non superesse statuerant exitio, cum ipsa res speci- 3
esque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris fletus et concursatio
incerta nunc hos nunc illos sequentium rogitantiumque
viros natosque, cui se fato darent, nihil, quod humani
superesset mali, relinquebant. Magna pars tamen ea- 4
rum in arcem suos persecutae sunt nec prohibente ullo
nec vocante, quia, quod utile obsessis ad minuendam
imbellem multitudinem, id parum humanum erat. Alia 5
maxime plebis turba, quam nec capere tam exiguus
collis nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti poterat, ex
urbe effusa velut agmine iam uno petiit Ianiculum.
Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes petunt finitimas 6
sine ullo duce aut consensu suam quisque spem, sua
consilia communibus deploratis sequentes.

7 Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales omissa
rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae
quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant, reliquenda essent,
consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli adservaturus cus-
8 todia esset, optimum ducunt condita in doliolis sa-
cello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc
despui religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito
ferunt via, quae sublicio ponte ducit ad Ianiculum.
9 In eo clivo eas cum L. Albinius, de plebe [Romana]
homo, conspexisset plaustro coniugem ac liberos ave-
hens inter ceteram turbam, quae inutilis bello urbe
10 excedebat, salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum huma-
narumque rerum, religiosum ratus sacerdotes publicas
sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique ac suos
in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem ac pueros iussit,
virgines sacraque in plaustrum imposuit et Caere qui
iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

41 Romae interim satis iam omnibus ut in tali re
ad tuendam arcem compositis turba seniorum domos
regressi adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo
2 exspectabant. Qui eorum curules gesserunt magistratus,
ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque ac virtutis insig-
nibus mererentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas
ducentibus triumphantibusve, ea vestiti medio aedium
3 eburneis sellis sedere. Sunt qui M. Folio pontifice
maximo praefante carmen devovisse eos se pro patria
Quiritibusque Romanis tradant.

4 Galli et quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnae
remiserant animos et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam
certaverant proelio nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant
urbem, sine ira, sine ardore animorum ingressi postero
die urbem patente Collina porta in forum perveniunt

circumferentes oculos ad templa deum arcemque solam
belli speciem tenentem. Inde modico relicto praesi- 5
dio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus
fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursu hominum viis
pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars
ultima, velut ea demum intacta et referta praeda, pe-
tunt. Inde rursus ipsa solitudine absterriti, ne qua 6
fraus hostilis vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua
foro loca conglobati redibant; ubi eos plebis aedificiis 7
obseratis, patentibus atriis principum maior prope
cunctatio tenebat aperta quam clausa invadendi; adeo 8
haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur in aedium
vestibulis sedentes viros praeter ornatum habitumque
humano augustiorem maiestate etiam, quam vultus
gravitasque oris prae se ferebat, simillimos dis. Ad 9
eos velut ad simulacra versi cum starent, M. Papirius,
unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum om-
nibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in
caput incusso iram movisse atque ab eo initium caedis
ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos; post princi- 10
pum caedem nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta,
exhaustis inici ignes.

Ceterum, — seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido 42
erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, et osten-
tari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si compelli ad
deditionem caritate sedum suarum obsessi possent, et
non omnia concremari tecta, ut, quodcumque super- 2
esset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos
haberent, — nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe
prima die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Ro- 3
mani ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes vagos-
que per vias omnes cursus, cum alia atque alia parte

nova aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum concipere *rem*, sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis
4 constare poterant. Quocumque clamor hostium, mulierum puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque et oculos flectebant velut ad spectaculum a fortuna positi occidentis patriae nec ullius rerum suarum relicti praeterquam corporum vindices, tanto ante
5 alios miserandi magis, qui umquam obsessi sunt, quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur omnia sua cernentes
6 in hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam foede actum excepit; lux deinde noctem inquietam insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus, quod a novae sem-
7 per cladis alicuius spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen tot onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos, quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque, quem tenebant, collem libertati
8 relictum virtute defenderent; et iam, cum eadem cotidie acciderent, velut adsueti malis abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantum ferrumque in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

43 Galli quoque per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequiquam bello gesto cum inter incendia ac ruinas captae urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent nequaquam tot cladibus territos nec flexuros ad deditionem animos ni vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima
2 et impetum facere in arcem statuunt. Prima luce signo dato multitudo omnis in foro instruitur; inde clamore sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepide; ad omnes aditus stationibus firmatis, qua signa ferri videbant, ea robore virorum opposito scandere hostem sinunt,

quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli posse per proclive facilius rati. Medio fere clivo restitere atque 3
inde ex loco superiore qui prope sua sponte in hostem inferebat, impetu facto strage ac ruina fudere Gallos, ut numquam postea nec pars nec universi temptaverint tale pugnae genus. Omissa itaque spe per vim atque 4
arma subeundi obsidionem parant, cuius ad id tempus immemores et quod in urbe fuerat frumentum incendiis urbis absumpserant, et ex agris per eos ipsos dies raptum omne Veios erat. Igitur exercitu diviso partim per 5
finitimos populos praedari placuit, partim obsidere arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum populatores agrorum praeberent.

Proficiscentes Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experi- 6
endam virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam, ubi Camillus exsulabat, duxit; qui maestior ibi fortuna publica quam 7
sua cum dis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indignando mirandoque, ubi illi viri essent, qui secum Veios Faleriosque cepissent, qui alia bella fortius semper quam felicius gessissent, repente audit Gallorum 8
exercitum adventare atque ideo pavidos Ardeates consultare. Nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus cum se in mediam contionem intulisset abstinere suetus ante talibus conciliis, 'Ardeates' inquit, 'veteres amici, 44
novi etiam cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et fortuna hoc eguit mea, nemo vestrum condicionis meae oblitum me huc processisse putet; sed res ac commune periculum cogit quod quisque possit in re trepida praesidii in medium conferre. Et quando 2
ego vobis pro tantis vestris in me meritis gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? Aut ubi usus erit mei vobis, si in bello non fuerit? Hac arte in patria steti et in-

victus bello in pace ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum.
3 Vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et pro tantis populi Romani beneficiis quanta ipsi meministis — nec enim exprobranda apud memores sunt — gratiae referendae et huic urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste com-
4 muni pariendi, qui effuso agmine adventat. Gens est, cui natura corpora animosque magna magis quam firma dederit; eo in certamen omne plus terroris quam virium
5 ferunt. Argumento sit clades Romana: patentem cepere urbem; ex arce Capitolioque iis exigua resistitur manu; iam obsidionis taedio victi abscedunt vagique
6 per agros palantur. Cibo vinoque raptim hausto repleti, ubi nox adpetit, prope rivos aquarum sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis passim ferarum ritu sternuntur nunc ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito in-
7 cauti. Si vobis in animo est tueri moenia vestra nec pati haec omnia Gallorum fieri, prima vigilia capite arma frequentesque me sequimini ad caedem, non ad pugnam. Nisi vinctos somno velut pecudes trucidandos tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardeae rerum mearum exitum, quem Romae habui.'

45 Aequis iniquisque persuasum erat tantum bello virum neminem usquam ea tempestate esse. Contione dimissa corpora curant intenti, quam mox signum daretur. Quo dato primo silentio noctis ad portas Camillo
2 praesto fuere. Egressi haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque ab
3 omni parte nacti cum ingenti clamore invadunt. Nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur. Extremos tamen pavor cubilibus suis excitos, quae aut unde vis esset, ignaros in fugam et quosdam in hostem ipsum impro-

vidos tulit. Magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati excursione ab oppidanis in palatos facta circumveniuntur.

Similis in agro Veienti Tuscorum facta strages est, 4
qui urbis iam prope quadringentesimum annum vicinae, oppressae ab hoste invisitato, inaudito, adeo nihil miseriti sunt, ut in agrum Romanum eo tempore incursiones facerent plenique praedae Veios etiam praesidiumque, spem ultimam Romani nominis, in animo habuerint oppugnare. Viderant eos milites Romani 5
vagantes per agros et congregato agmine praedam prae se agentes et castra cernebant haud procul Veis posita. Inde primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas atque ex 6
ea ira animos cepit: Etruscisne etiam a quibus bellum Gallicum in se avertissent, ludibrio esse clades suas? Vix temperavere animis, quin extemplo impetum face- 7
rent; compressi a Q. Caedicio centurione, quem sibimet ipsi praefecerant, rem in noctem sustinuere. Tantum 8
par Camillo defuit auctor; cetera eodem ordine eodemque fortunae eventu gesta. Quin etiam ducibus captivis, qui caedi nocturnae superfuerant, ad aliam manum Tuscorum ad salinas profecti nocte insequenti ex improviso maiorem caedem edidere duplicique victoria ovantes Veios redeunt.

Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrim- **46**
que silentium esse ad id tantum intentis Gallis, ne quis hostium evadere inter stationes posset, cum repente iuvenis Romanus admiratione in se cives hostesque convertit. Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali 2
colle genti Fabiae. Ad id faciendum C. Fabius Dorsuo Gabino cinctu, sacra manibus gerens, cum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias hostium stationes egressus,

3 nihil ad vocem cuiusquam terroremve motus, in Quirinalem collem pervenit ibique omnibus sollemniter peractis eadem revertens similiter constanti vultu graduque, satis sperans propitios esse deos, quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium ad suos rediit seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae seu religione etiam motis, cuius haudquaquam neglegens gens est.

4 Veis interim non animi tantum in dies, sed etiam vires crescebant. Nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris, qui aut proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis con-
5 fluentibus, ut in parte praedae essent, maturum iam videbatur repeti patriam eripique ex hostium mani-
6 bus; sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat, qui ductu auspicioque eius res prospere gesserant; et Caedicius negare se commissurum, cur sibi aut deorum aut hominum quisquam imperium finiret potius, quam ipse
7 memor ordinis sui posceret imperatorem. Consensu omnium placuit ab Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romae esset; adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus ser-
8 vabant. Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominius, inpiger iuvenis, operam pollicitus incubans cortici se-
9 cundo Tiberi ad urbem defertur. Inde, qua proximum fuit a ripa, per praeruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodia saxum in Capitolium evadit et ad magistratus
10 ductus mandata exercitus edit. Accepto inde senatus consulto, uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exsilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur militesque

haberent imperatorem, quem vellent, eadem degressus
nuntius Veios contendit; missique Ardeam legati ad 11
Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu — quod magis cre-
dere libet non prius profectum ab Ardea, quam con-
pererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari
finibus posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in ex-
ercitu habere — lex curiata lata est dictatorque absens
dictus.

Dum haec Veis agebantur, interim arx Romae 47
Capitoliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli 2
seu vestigio notato humano, qua nuntius a Veis per-
venerat, seu sua sponte animadverso ad Carmentis
saxo ascensu aequo, nocte sublustri, cum primo iner-
mem, qui temptaret viam, praemisissent, tradentes
inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innixi suble-
vantesque in vicem et trahentes alii alios, prout postu- 3
laret locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere, ut non
custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, solli-
citum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent. An- 4
seres non fefellere, quibus sacris Iunonis in summa
inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit;
namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M.
Manlius, qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egre-
gius, armis arreptis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit
et, dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum, qui iam in summo
constiterat, umbone ictum deturbat. Cuius casus pro- 5
lapsi cum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios armis-
que omissis saxa, quibus adhaerebant, manibus am-
plexos trucidat. Iamque et alii congregati telis mis-
silibusque saxis proturbare hostes, ruinaque tota pro-
lapsa acies in praeceps deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu 6
reliquum noctis, quantum in turbatis mentibus poterat,

cum praeteritum quoque periculum sollicitaret, quieti datum est.

7 Luce orta vocatis classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, cum et recte et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius primum ob virtutem laudatus donatusque non ab tribunis solum militum, sed consensu etiam
8 militari; cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad aedes eius, quae in arce erant, contulerunt, rem dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens caritatis, cum se quisque victu suo fraudans detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad honorem
9 unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles eius loci, qua fefellerat ascendens hostis, citati; et cum in omnes more militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus militum pro-
10 nuntiasset, consentiente clamore militum in unum vigilem conicientium culpam deterritus a ceteris abstinuit, reum haud dubium eius noxae adprobantibus
11 cunctis de saxo deiecit. Inde intentiores utrimque custodiae esse, et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat inter Veios Romamque nuntios commeare, et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria.

48 Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellique mala fames
2 utrumque exercitum urgebat. Gallos pestilentia etiam, cum loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque, non pulverem modo ferente, cum quid venti motum esset.
3 Quorum intolerantissima gens umorique ac frigori adsueta, cum aestu et angore vexata vulgatis velut in pecua morbis morerentur, iam pigritia singulos sepeliendi promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum urebant; bustorumque inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere.

Indutiae deinde cum Romanis factae et colloquia 4
permissu imperatorum habita; in quibus cum identidem Galli famem obicerent eaque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dicitur avertendae eius opinionis causa multis locis panis de Capitolio iactatus esse in hostium stationes. Sed iam neque dissimulari neque ferri ultra 5
fames poterat. Itaque dum dictator dilectum per se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium a Veis adducere exercitum iubet, parat instruitque, quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes, interim Capitolinus exer- 6
citus stationibus vigiliis*que* fessus superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis, cum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans, ecquod auxilium 7
ab dictatore appareret, postremo spe quoque iam non solum cibo deficiente et, cum stationes procederent, prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis vel dedi vel redimi se, quacumque pactione possent, iussit iactantibus non obscure Gallis haud magna mercede se adduci posse, ut obsidionem relinquant. Tum senatus habitus 8
tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut paciscerentur, inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum, regulum Gallorum, colloquio transacta res, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. Rei foedissimae per se adiecta indigni- 9
tas est: pondera ab Gallis adlata iniqua, et tribuno recusante additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox: vae victis.

Sed diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vi- **49**
vere Romanos. Nam forte quadam, priusquam infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro adpenso dictator intervenit auferrique aurum de medio et Gallos summoveri iubet. Cum illi reni- 2

tentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem ratam esse, quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, iniussu suo ab inferioris iuris magistratu facta esset,
3 denuntiatque Gallis, ut se ad proelium expediant. Suos in acervum conicere sarcinas et arma aptare ferroque, non auro recuperare patriam iubet in conspectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme belli malis et omnia quae defendi repetique
4 et ulcisci fas sit. Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur in semirutae solo urbis et natura inaequali et omnia, quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praepara-
5 rive poterant, providit. Galli nova re trepidi arma capiunt iraque magis quam consilio in Romanos incurrunt. Iam verterat fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud maiore momento fusi Galli sunt, quam ad Aliam vicerant.

6 Iustiore altero deinde proelio ad octavum lapidem Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, eiusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit; castra capiuntur, et ne nuntius quidem cladis
7 relictus. Dictator recuperata ex hostibus patria triumphans in urbem redit interque iocos militares, quos inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur.

LIBER VI

35–42

Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter in- 35
gentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes
nisi suis in summo imperio locatis nullum speraret: ac-
cingendum ad eam cogitationem esse; conando agendo- 2
que iam eo gradum fecisse plebeios, unde, si porro ad-
nitantur, pervenire ad summa et patribus aequari tam
honore quam virtute possent.

In praesentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, quo in 3
magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad ceteros honores ape-
rirent. Creatique tribuni C. Licinius et L. Sextius pro- 4
mulgavere leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et
pro commodis plebis, unam de aere alieno, ut deducto
eo de capite, quod usuris pernumeratum esset, id, quod
superesset, triennio aequis pensionibus persolveretur;
alteram de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quingenta iu- 5
gera agri possideret; tertiam, ne tribunorum militum
comitia fierent consulumque utique alter ex plebe crea-
retur, — cuncta ingentia et quae sine certamine ma-
ximo obtineri non possent.

Omnium igitur simul rerum, quarum immodica cu- 6
pido inter mortales est, agri, pecuniae, honorum dis-
crimine proposito conterriti patres cum trepidassent
publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio praeter
expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem

invento collegas adversus tribunicias rogationes com-
7 paraverunt. Qui ubi tribus ad suffragium ineundum citari a Licinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praesidiis ne recitari rogationes nec sollemne quidquam
8 aliud ad sciscendum plebi fieri passi sunt. Iamque frustra saepe concilio advocato cum pro antiquatis rogationes essent: 'bene habet' inquit Sextius; 'quando quidem tantum intercessionem pollere placet, isto ipso
9 telo tutabimur plebem. Agite dum, comitia indicite, patres, tribunis militum creandis; faxo, ne iuvet vox ista 'veto', qua nunc concinentes collegas nostros tam laeti auditis.'

10 Haud irritae cecidere minae; comitia praeter aedilium tribunorumque plebi nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis refecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt; eaque solitudo magistratuum et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus per quinquennium urbem tenuit.

36 Alia bella opportune quievere; Veliterni coloni gestientes otio, quod nullus exercitus Romanus esset, et agrum Romanum aliquotiens incursavere et Tus-
2 culum oppugnare adorti sunt; eaque res Tusculanis, veteribus sociis, novis civibus, opem orantibus verecundia maxime non patres modo sed etiam plebem
3 movit. Remittentibus tribunis plebis comitia per interregem sunt habita creatique tribuni militum L. Furius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, Ser. Cornelius, P. et C. Valerii. Haudquaquam tam oboedientem in dilectu quam in co-
4 mitiis plebem habuere; ingentique contentione exercitu scripto profecti non ab Tusculo modo summovere hos-
5 tem sed intra suamet ipsum moenia compulere, ob-

sidebanturque haud paulo vi maiore Velitrae quam Tusculum obsessum fuerat. Nec tamen ab eis, a quibus obsideri coeptae erant, expugnari potuere; ante 6
novi creati sunt tribuni militum Q. Servilius, C. Veturius, A. et M. Cornelii, Q. Quinctius, M. Fabius. Nihil ne ab iis quidem tribunis ad Velitras memorabile factum.

In maiore discrimine domi res vertebantur. Nam 7
praeter Sextium Liciniumque latores legum, iam octavum tribunos plebis refectos, Fabius quoque tribunus militum, Stolonis socer, quarum legum auctor fuerat, earum suasorem se haud dubium ferebat; et cum octo 8
ex collegio tribunorum plebi primo intercessores legum fuissent, quinque soli erant; et, ut ferme solent qui a suis desciscunt, capti et stupentes animi vocibus alienis id modo, quod domi praeceptum erat, intercessioni suae praetendebant: Velitris in exercitu plebis magnam 9
partem abesse; in adventum militum comitia differri debere, ut universa plebes de suis commodis suffragium ferret. Sextius Liciniusque cum parte collega- 10
rum et uno ex tribunis militum Fabio, artifices iam tot annorum usu tractandi animos plebis, primores patrum productos interrogando de singulis quae ferebantur ad populum fatigabant: auderentne postulare 11
ut cum bina iugera agri plebi dividerentur ipsis plus quingenta iugera habere liceret ut singuli prope trecentorum civium possiderent agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum necessarium aut locum sepulturae suus pateret ager? An placeret faenore circumventam plebem, 12
potius quam sorte creditum solvat, corpus in nervum ac supplicia dare, et gregatim cotidie de foro addictos duci et repleri vinctis nobiles domus et, ubicumque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse?

37 Haec indigna miserandaque auditu cum apud timentes sibimet ipsos maiore audientium indignatione
2 quam sua increpuissent, atqui nec agros occupandi modum nec faenore trucidandi plebem alium patribus umquam fore adfirmabant, nisi alterum ex plebe con-
3 sulem, custodem suae libertatis, plebes fecisset. Contemni iam tribunos plebis, quippe quae potestas iam
4 suam ipsa vim frangat intercedendo. Non posse aequo iure agi, ubi imperium penes illos, penes se auxilium tantum sit; nisi imperio communicato numquam plebem in parte pari rei publicae fore. Nec esse, quod quisquam satis putet, si plebeiorum ratio comitiis consularibus habeatur; nisi alterum consulem utique ex plebe
5 fieri necesse sit, neminem fore. An iam memoria exisse, cum tribunos militum idcirco potius quam consules creari placuisset, ut et plebeis pateret summus honos, quattuor et quadraginta annis neminem ex plebe
6 tribunum militum creatum esse? Quid crederent? Duobusne in locis sua voluntate impertituros plebi honorem, qui octona loca tribunis militum creandis occupare soliti sint, et ad consulatum viam fieri passuros, qui
7 tribunatum saeptum tam diu habuerint? Lege obtinendum esse, quod comitiis per gratiam nequeat, et seponendum extra certamen alterum consulatum, ad quem plebi sit aditus, quoniam in certamine relictus
8 praemium semper potentioris futurus sit. Nec iam posse dici id, quod antea iactare soliti sint, non esse in plebeis idoneos viros ad curules magistratus; numquid enim socordius aut segnius rem publicam administrari post P. Licini Calvi tribunatum, qui primus ex plebe creatus sit, quam per eos annos gesta sit, quibus praeter patricios nemo tribunus militum fuerit? Quin

contra patricios aliquot damnatos post tribunatum, neminem plebeium. Quaestores quoque, sicut tribu- 9
nos militum, paucis ante annis ex plebe coeptos creari, nec ullius eorum populum Romanum paenituisse. Con- 10
sulatum superesse plebeis; eam esse arcem libertatis, id columen. Si eo perventum sit, tum populum Romanum vere exactos ex urbe reges et stabilem libertatem suam existimaturum; quippe ex illa die in plebem 11
ventura omnia, quibus patricii excellant, imperium atque honorem, gloriam belli, genus nobilitatem, magna ipsis fruenda, maiora liberis relinquenda.

Huius generis orationes ubi accipi videre, novam 12
rogationem promulgant, ut pro duumviris sacris faciundis decemviri creentur ita, ut pars ex plebe, pars ex patribus fiat; omniumque earum rogationum comitia in adventum eius exercitus differunt, qui Velitras obsidebat.

Prius circumactus est annus, quam a Velitris re- 38
ducerentur legiones. Ita suspensa de legibus res ad novos tribunos militum dilata; nam plebis tribunos eosdem, duos utique, qui legum latores erant, plebes reficiebat. Tribuni militum creati T. Quinctius, Ser. 2
Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius.

Principio statim anni ad ultimam dimicationem de 3
legibus ventum; et cum tribus vocarentur nec intercessio collegarum latoribus obstaret, trepidi patres ad duo ultima auxilia, ad summum imperium summumque civem, decurrunt. Dictatorem dici placet; dicitur 4
M. Furius Camillus, qui magistrum equitum L. Aemilium cooptat. Legum quoque latores adversus tantum apparatum adversariorum et ipsi causam plebis ingenti-

bus animis armant concilioque plebis indicto tribus ad suffragium vocant.

5 Cum dictator, stipatus agmine patriciorum plenus, irae minarumque consedisset atque ageretur res solito primum certamine inter se tribunorum plebi ferentium legem intercedentiumque et, quanto iure potentior intercessio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipsarum
6 latorumque et 'uti rogas' primae tribus dicerent, tum Camillus 'quando quidem' inquit, 'Quirites, iam vos tribunicia libido, non potestas regit et intercessionem secessione quondam plebis partam vobis eadem vi facitis irritam, qua peperistis, non rei publicae magis universae quam vestra causa dictator intercessioni adero eversumque vestrum auxilium imperio tutabor.
7 Itaque, si C. Licinius et L. Sextius intercessioni collegarum cedunt, nihil patricium magistratum inseram concilio plebis; si adversus intercessionem tamquam captae civitati leges imponere tendent, vim tribuniciam a se ipsa dissolvi non patiar.'

8 Adversus ea cum contemptim tribuni plebis rem nihilo segnius peragerent, tum percitus ira Camillus lictores, qui de medio plebem emoverent, misit et addidit minas, si pergerent, sacramento omnes iuniores adacturum exercitumque extemplo ex urbe educturum.
9 Terrorem ingentem incusserat plebi; ducibus plebis accendit magis certamine animos quam minuit. Sed re neutro inclinata magistratu se abdicavit, seu quia vitio creatus erat, ut scripsere quidam, seu quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad plebem, idque plebs scivit, ut, si M. Furius pro dictatore quid egisset, quingentum milium ei multa
10 esset. Sed auspiciis magis quam novi exempli rogatione deterritum, ut potius credam, cum ipsius viri facit

ingenium, tum quod ei suffectus est extemplo P. Manlius dictator — quem quid creari attinebat ad id cer- 11
tamen, quo M. Furius victus esset? — et quod eundem M. Furium dictatorem insequens annus habuit, haud sine pudore certe fractum priore anno in se imperium repetiturum; simul quod eo tempore, quo promulga- 12
tum de multa eius traditur, aut et huic rogationi, qua se in ordinem cogi videbat, obsistere potuit, aut ne illas quidem, propter quas et haec lata erat, impedire, et quod usque ad memoriam nostram tribuniciis con- 13
sularibusque certatum viribus est, dictaturae semper altius fastigium fuit.

Inter priorem dictaturam abdicatam novamque a 39
Manlio initam ab tribunis velut per interregnum concilio plebis habito apparuit, quae ex promulgatis plebi, quae latoribus gratiora essent. Nam de faenore at- 2
que agro rogationes iubebant, de plebeio consule antiquabant; et perfecta utraque res esset, ni tribuni se in omnia simul consulere plebem dixissent. P. Man- 3
lius deinde dictator rem in causam plebis inclinavit C. Licinio, qui tribunus militum fuerat, magistro equitum de plebe dicto. Id aegre patres passos accipio; 4
dictatorem propinqua cognatione Licini se apud patres excusare solitum, simul negantem magistri equitum maius quam tribuni consularis imperium esse.

Licinius Sextiusque, cum tribunorum plebi crean- 5
dorum indicta comitia essent, ita se gerere, ut negando iam sibi velle continuari honorem acerrime accenderent ad id, quod dissimulando petebant, plebem: nonum se 6
annum iam velut in acie adversus optimates maximo privatim periculo, nullo publice emolumento stare. Consenuisse iam secum et rogationes promulgatas et

7 vim omnem tribuniciae potestatis. Primo intercessione collegarum in leges suas pugnatum esse, deinde ablegatione iuventutis ad Veliternum bellum, postremo
8 dictatorium fulmen in se intentatum. Iam nec collegas nec bellum nec dictatorem obstare, quippe qui etiam omen plebeio consuli magistro equitum ex plebe dicendo dederit: se ipsam plebem et commoda morari
9 sua. Liberam urbem ac forum a creditoribus, liberos agros ab iniustis possessoribus extemplo, si velit, ha-
10 bere posse. Quae munera quando tandem satis grato animo aestimaturos, si inter accipiendas de suis commodis rogationes spem honoris latoribus earum incidant? Non esse modestiae populi Romani id postulare, ut ipse faenore levetur et in agrum iniuria possessum a potentibus inducatur, per quos ea consecutus sit, senes tribunicios non sine honore tantum sed etiam
11 sine spe honoris relinquat. Proinde ipsi primum statuerent apud animos, quid vellent, deinde comitiis tribuniciis declararent voluntatem. Si coniuncte ferri ab se promulgatas rogationes vellent, esse, quod eosdem reficerent tribunos plebis; perlaturos enim, quae
12 promulgaverint; sin, quod cuique privatim opus sit, id modo accipi velint, opus esse nihil invidiosa continuatione honoris; nec se tribunatum nec illos ea, quae promulgata sint, habituros.

40 Adversus tam obstinatam orationem tribunorum cum prae indignitate rerum stupor silentiumque inde
2 ceteros patrum defixisset, Ap. Claudius Crassus, nepos decemviri, dicitur odio magis iraque quam spe ad dissuadendum processisse et locutus in hanc fere sen-
3 tentiam esse: 'neque novum neque inopinatum mihi sit, Quirites, si, quod unum familiae nostrae semper

obiectum est ab seditiosis tribunis, id nunc ego quoque audiam, Claudiae genti iam inde ab initio nihil antiquius in re publica patrum maiestate fuisse, semper plebis commodis adversatos esse. Quorum alterum 4
neque nego neque infitias eo, nos, ex quo adsciti sumus simul in civitatem et patres, enixe operam dedisse, ut per nos aucta potius quam imminuta maiestas earum gentium, inter quas nos esse voluistis, dici vere posset; illud alterum pro me maioribusque meis contendere 5
ausim, Quirites, nisi, quae pro universa re publica fiant, ea plebi tamquam aliam incolenti urbem adversa quis putet, nihil nos neque privatos neque in magistratibus, quod incommodum plebi esset, scientes fecisse, nec ullum factum dictumve nostrum contra utilitatem vestram, etsi quaedam contra voluntatem fuerint, vere referri posse. An hoc, si Claudiae familiae non sim 6
nec ex patricio sanguine ortus, sed unus Quiritium quilibet, qui modo me duobus ingenuis ortum et vivere in libera civitate sciam, reticere possim, L. illum Sex- 7
tium et C. Licinium, perpetuos si dis placet tribunos, tantum licentiae novem annis, quibus regnant, sumpsisse, ut vobis negent potestatem liberam suffragii non in comitiis, non in legibus iubendis se permissuros esse? 'Sub condicione' inquit 'nos reficietis decimum 8
tribunos.' Quid est aliud dicere 'quod petunt alii, nos adeo fastidimus, ut sine mercede magna non accipiamus'? Sed quae tandem ista merces est, qua 9
vos semper tribunos plebis habeamus? 'Ut rogationes' inquit 'nostras, seu placent seu displicent, seu utiles seu inutiles sunt, omnes coniunctim accipiatis.' Ob- 10
secro vos, Tarquinii tribuni plebis, putate me ex media contione unum civem succlamare: 'bona venia vestra

liceat ex his rogationibus legere, quas salubres nobis
11 censemus esse, antiquare alias'; 'non' inquit 'licebit,
ut de faenore atque agris, quod ad vos omnes pertinet,
iubeas, et hoc portenti non fiat in urbe Romana, uti
L. Sextium atque hunc C. Licinium consules, quod
indignaris, quod abominaris, videas; aut omnia accipe,
12 aut nihil fero.' Ut si quis ei, quem urgeat fames, ve-
nenum ponat cum cibo et aut abstinere eo, quod vi-
tale sit, iubeat aut mortiferum vitali admisceat. Ergo
si esset libera haec civitas, non tibi frequentes succla-
massent: 'abi hinc cum tribunatibus ac rogationibus
tuis?' Quid? si tu non tuleris, quod commodum est
13 populo accipere, nemo erit, qui ferat? Illud si quis
patricius, si quis — quod illi volunt invidiosius esse —
Claudius diceret: 'aut omnia accipite, aut nihil fero,'
14 quis vestrum, Quirites, ferret? Numquamne vos res
potius quam auctores spectabitis, sed omnia semper,
quae magistratus ille dicet, secundis auribus, quae ab
15 nostrum quo dicentur, adversis accipietis? At hercule
sermo est minime civilis; quid? Rogatio qualis est,
quam a vobis antiquatam indignantur? Sermoni, Qui-
rites, simillima. 'Consules' inquit, 'rogo, ne vobis, quos
16 velitis, facere liceat.' An aliter rogat, qui utique alte-
rum ex plebe fieri consulem iubet nec duos patricios
17 creandi potestatem vobis permittit? Si hodie bella
sint, quale Etruscum fuit, cum Porsinna Ianiculum
insedit, quale Gallicum modo, cum praeter Capitolium
atque arcem omnia haec hostium erant, et consulatum
cum hoc M. Furio et quolibet alio ex patribus L. ille
Sextius peteret, possetisne ferre Sextium haud pro
dubio consule esse, Camillum de repulsa dimicare?
18 Hocine est in commune honores vocare, ut duos ple-

beios fieri consules liceat, duos patricios non liceat? Et alterum ex plebe creari necesse sit, utrumque ex patribus praeterire liceat? Quaenam ista societas, quaenam consortio est? Parum est, si, cuius pars tua nulla adhuc fuit, in partem eius venis, nisi partem petendo totum traxeris? 'Timeo' inquit, 'ne, si duos licebit 19
creari patricios, neminem creetis plebeium.' Quid est dicere aliud 'quia indignos vestra voluntate creaturi non estis, necessitatem vobis creandi, quos non vultis, imponam'? Quid sequitur, nisi ut ne beneficium qui- 20
dem debeat populo, si cum duobus patriciis unus petierit plebeius et lege se, non suffragio, creatum dicat?

Quo modo extorqueant, non quo modo petant 41
honores, quaerunt; et ita maxima sunt adepturi, ut nihil ne pro minimis quidem debeant; et occasionibus potius quam virtute petere honores malunt. Est aliquis, 2
qui se inspici, aestimari fastidiat, qui certos sibi uni honores inter dimicantes competitores aequum censeat esse, qui se arbitrio vestro eximat, qui vestra necessaria suffragia pro voluntariis et serva pro liberis faciat. Omitto Licinium Sextiumque, quorum annos in 3
perpetua potestate tamquam regum in Capitolio numeratis; quis est hodie in civitate tam humilis, cui non via ad consulatum facilior per istius legis occasionem quam nobis ac liberis nostris fiat? Si quidem nos, ne cum volueritis quidem, creare interdum poteritis, istos, etiam si nolueritis, necesse erit.

De indignitate satis dictum est. At enim dignitas 4
ad homines pertinet; quid de religionibus atque auspiciis, quae propria deorum immortalium contemptio atque iniuria est, loquar? Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace, domi militiaeque

5 omnia geri quis est, qui ignoret? Penes quos igitur
sunt auspicia more maiorum? Nempe penes patres;
nam plebeius quidem magistratus nullus auspicato
6 creatur; nobis adeo propria sunt auspicia, ut non
solum, quos populus creat, patricios magistratus non
aliter quam auspicato creet, sed nos quoque ipsi sine
suffragio populi auspicato interregem prodamus et pri-
vati auspicia habeamus, quae isti ne in magistratibus
7 quidem habent. Quid igitur aliud quam tollit ex civi-
tate auspicia, qui plebeios consules creando a patri-
8 bus, qui soli ea habere possunt, aufert? Eludant nunc
licet religiones 'quid enim esse, si pulli non pascantur,
si ex cavea tardius exierint, si occecinerit avis?' Parva
sunt haec; sed parva ista non contemnendo maiores
9 nostri maximam hanc rem fecerunt; nunc nos, tam-
quam iam nihil pace deorum opus sit, omnes caerimo-
nias polluimus. Vulgo ergo pontifices, augures, sacri-
ficuli reges creentur; cuilibet apicem dialem, dum-
modo homo sit, imponamus; tradamus ancilia, pene-
10 tralia, deos deorumque curam, quibus nefas est; non
leges auspicato ferantur, non magistratus creentur nec
centuriatis nec curiatis comitiis patres auctores fiant;
Sextius et Licinius tamquam Romulus ac Tatius in
urbe Romana regnent, quia pecunias alienas, quia agros
11 dono dant. Tanta dulcedo est ex alienis fortunis prae-
dandi, nec in mentem venit altera lege solitudines vastas
in agris fieri pellendo finibus dominos, altera fidem
abrogari, cum qua omnis humana societas tollitur?
12 Omnium rerum causa vobis antiquandas censeo istas
rogationes. Quod faxitis, deos velim fortunare.'

42 Oratio Appi ad id modo valuit, ut tempus rogatio-
2 num iubendarum proferretur. Refecti decimum iidem

tribuni Sextius et Licinius de decemviris sacrorum ex parte de plebe creandis legem pertulere. Creati quinque patrum, quinque plebis; graduque eo iam via facta ad consulatum videbatur. Hac victoria contenta 3 plebes cessit patribus, ut in praesentia consulum mentione omissa tribuni militum crearentur. Creati A. et M. Cornelii iterum, M. Geganius, P. Manlius, L. Veturius, P. Valerius sextum. Cum praeter Velitrarum obsidio- 4 nem, tardi magis rem exitus quam dubii, quietae externae res Romanis essent, fama repens belli Gallici allata perpulit civitatem, ut M. Furius dictator quintum diceretur. Is T. Quinctium Poenum magistrum equitum dixit.

Bellatum cum Gallis eo anno circa Anienem flumen 5 auctor est Claudius inclitamque in ponte pugnam, qua T. Manlius Gallum, cum quo provocatus manus conseruit, in conspectu duorum exercituum caesum torque spoliavit, tum pugnatam. Pluribus auctoribus magis 6 adducor, ut credam decem haud minus post annos ea acta, hoc autem anno in Albano agro cum Gallis dictatore M. Furio signa collata.

Nec dubia nec difficilis Romanis, quamquam ingen- 7 tem Galli terrorem memoria pristinae cladis attulerant, victoria fuit. Multa milia barbarorum in acie, multa captis castris caesa; palati alii Apuliam maxime pe- 8 tentes cum fuga se longinqua, tum quod passim eos simul pavor errorque distulerant, ab hoste sese tutati sunt. Dictatori consensu patrum plebisque triumphus decretus.

Vixdum perfunctum eum bello atrocior domi seditio 9 excepit; et per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut rogationes tribuniciae acciperentur; et

comitia consulum adversa nobilitate habita, quibus L. Sextius de plebe primus consul factus. Et ne is qui-
10 dem finis certaminum fuit. Quia patricii se auctores futuros negabant, prope secessionem plebis res terri-
11 bilesque alias minas civilium certaminum venit, cum tandem per dictatorem condicionibus sedatae discordiae sunt concessumque ab nobilitate plebi de consule plebeio, a plebe nobilitati de praetore uno, qui ius in urbe
12 diceret, ex patribus creando. Ita ab diutina ira tandem in concordiam redactis ordinibus cum dignam eam rem senatus censeret esse, meritoque id, si quando umquam alias, deum immortalium fore, ut ludi maximi
13 fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiceretur, recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis, conclamatum a patriciis est iuvenibus se id honoris deum immortalium causa
14 libenter facturos, ut aediles fierent. Quibus cum ab universis gratiae actae essent, factum senatus consultum, ut duoviros aediles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret, patres auctores omnibus eius anni comitiis fierent.

LIBER VII

2 and 6

Et hoc et insequenti anno C. Sulpicio Petico C. Li- 2
cinio Stolone consulibus pestilentia fuit. Eo nihil dig- 2
num memoria actum, nisi quod pacis deum exposcendae
causa tertio tum post conditam urbem lectisternium
fuit. Et cum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope 3
divina levaretur, victis superstitione animis ludi quo-
que scaenici, nova res bellicoso populo — nam circi
modo spectaculum fuerat —, inter alia caelestis irae
placamina instituti dicuntur. Ceterum parva *haec* quo- 4
que, ut ferme principia omnia, et ea ipsa peregrina res
fuit. Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum
actu ludiones, ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos
saltantes haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant.
Imitari deinde eos iuventus simul inconditis inter se 5
iocularia fundentes versibus coepere, nec absoni a voce
motus erant. Accepta itaque res saepiusque usur- 6
pando excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco
verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum;
qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incom- 7
positum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant, sed im-
pletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu
motuque congruenti peragebant. Livius post aliquot 8
annis, qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fa-
bulam serere, idem scilicet, id quod omnes tum erant,

9 suorum carminum actor, dicitur, cum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem cum statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis usus
10 impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari histrionibus coep-
11 tum diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci relicta. Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat, iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit; quae exodia postea appellata consertaque fabellis potissimum
12 Atellanis sunt. Quod genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum tenuit iuventus nec ab histrionibus pollui passa est: eo institutum manet, ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur et stipendia, tamquam expertes artis ludi-
13 crae, faciant. Inter aliarum parva principia rerum ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa est, ut appareret, quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit.

6 Eodem anno, seu motu terrae seu qua vi alia forum medium ferme specu vasto collapsum in immensam altitudinem dicitur; neque eam voraginem coniectu
2 terrae, cum pro se quisque gereret, expleri potuisse, priusquam deum monitu quaeri coeptum, quo plurimum populus Romanus posset: id enim illi loco di-
3 candum vates canebant, si rem publicam Romanam perpetuam esse vellent. Tum M. Curtium, iuvenem bello egregium, castigasse ferunt dubitantes, an ullum magis Romanum bonum quam arma virtusque esset,
4 *et* silentio facto templa deorum immortalium, quae foro imminent, Capitoliumque intuentem et manus nunc in caelum, nunc in patentes terrae hiatus ad deos manes

porrigentem se devovisse; equoque deinde quam po- 5
terat maxime exornato insidentem armatum se in spe-
cum immisisse, donaque ac fruges super eum a multi-
tudine virorum ac mulierum congestas, lacumque Curtium
non ab antiquo illo T. Tati milite Curtio Mettio, sed
ab hoc appellatum. Cura non deesset, si qua ad verum 6
via inquirentem ferret; nunc fama rerum standum est,
ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem; et lacus nomen ab
hac recentiore insignitius fabula est.

3 Ceterum Romani, etsi defectio sociorum nominisque Latini haud dubia erat, tamen, tamquam de Samnitibus, non de se curam agerent, decem principes Latinorum Romam evocaverunt, quibus imperarent, quae 9 vellent. Praetores tum duos Latium habebat, L. Annium Setinum et L. Numisium Circeiensem, ambo ex coloniis Romanis, per quos praeter Signiam Velitrasque, et ipsas colonias Romanas, Volsci etiam exciti 10 ad arma erant; eos nominatim evocari placuit. Haud cuiquam dubium erat, super qua re accirentur; itaque concilio prius habito praetores, quam Romam proficiscerentur, evocatos se ab senatu docent Romano, et quae actum iri secum credant, quidnam ad ea responderi placeat, referunt.

4 Cum aliud alii censerent, tum Annius: 'quamquam ipse ego rettuli, quid responderi placeret, tamen magis ad summam rerum nostrarum pertinere arbitror, quid agendum nobis, quam quid loquendum sit. Facile 2 erit explicatis consiliis accommodare rebus verba. Nam si etiam nunc sub umbra foederis aequi servitutem pati possumus, quid abest, quin proditis Sidicinis non Romanorum solum sed Samnitium quoque dicto pareamus respondeamusque Romanis nos, ubi innuerint, 3 posituros arma? Sin autem tandem libertatis desiderium remordet animos, si foedus est, si societas aequatio

iuris est, consanguineos nos Romanorum esse, quod olim pudebat, nunc gloriari licet, si socialis illis exercitus is est, quo adiuncto duplicent vires suas, quem secernere ab se consilia bellis propriis ponendis sumendisque nolint, cur non omnia aequantur? Cur non alter 4
ab Latinis consul datur? Ubi pars virium, ibi et imperii pars esto. Est quidem nobis hoc per se haud 5
nimis amplum, quippe concedentibus Romam caput Latio esse; sed ut amplum videri posset, diuturna patientia fecimus. Atqui si quando umquam consoci- 6
andi imperii, usurpandae libertatis tempus optastis, en hoc tempus adest et virtute vestra et deum benignitate vobis datum. Temptastis patientiam negando 7
militem. Quis dubitat exarsisse eos, cum plus ducentorum annorum morem solveremus? Pertulerunt tamen hunc dolorem. Bellum nostro nomine cum Paelignis 8
gessimus; qui ne nostrorum quidem finium nobis per nos tuendorum ius antea dabant, nihil intercesserunt. Sidicinos in fidem receptos, Campanos ab se ad nos 9
descisse, exercitus nos parare adversus Samnites, foederatos suos, audierunt nec moverunt se ab urbe. Unde 10
haec illis tanta modestia nisi a conscientia virium et nostrarum et suarum? Idoneos auctores habeo querentibus de nobis Samnitibus ita responsum ab senatu Romano esse, ut facile appareret, ne ipsos quidem iam postulare, ut Latium sub Romano imperio sit. Usurpate modo postulando quod illi vobis taciti concedunt. Si quem hoc metus dicere prohibet, en ego ipse audiente 11
non populo Romano modo senatuque, sed Iove ipso, qui Capitolium incolit, profiteor me dicturum, ut, si nos in foedere ac societate esse velint, consulem alterum ab nobis senatusque partem accipiant.'

12 Haec ferociter non suadenti solum, sed pollicenti clamore et adsensu omnes permiserunt, ut ageret diceretque, quae e re publica nominis Latini fideque sua viderentur.

5 Ubi est Romam ventum, in Capitolio eis senatus datus est. Ibi cum T. Manlius consul egisset cum eis 2 ex auctoritate patrum, ne Samnitibus foederatis bellum inferrent, Annius, tamquam victor armis Capitolium cepisset, non legatus iure gentium tutus loqueretur: 3 'tempus erat' inquit, 'T. Manli vosque patres conscripti, tandem iam vos nobiscum nihil pro imperio agere, cum florentissimum deum benignitate nunc Latium armis virisque, Samnitibus bello victis, Sidicinis Campanisque sociis, nunc etiam Volscis adiunctis, videretis, colonias quoque vestras Latinum Romano praetulisse 4 imperium. Sed quoniam vos, regno impotenti finem ut imponatis, non inducitis in animum nos, quamquam armis possumus adserere Latium in libertatem, consanguinitati tamen hoc dabimus, ut condiciones pacis feramus aequas utrisque, quoniam vires quoque ae- 5 quari dis immortalibus placuit. Consulem alterum Roma, alterum ex Latio creari oportet, senatus partem aequam ex utraque gente esse, unum populum, unam 6 rem publicam fieri; et ut imperii eadem sedes sit idemque omnibus nomen, quoniam ab altera utra parte concedi necesse est, quod utrisque bene vertat, sit haec sane patria potior, et Romani omnes vocemur.'

7 Forte ita accidit, ut parem ferociae huius et Romani consulem T. Manlium haberent, qui adeo non tenuit iram, ut, si tanta dementia patres conscriptos cepisset, ut ab Setino homine leges acciperent, gladio cinctum in senatum venturum se esse palam diceret et, quemcum-

que in curia Latinum vidisset, sua manu interempturum. Et conversus ad simulacrum Iovis 'audi, Iuppiter, 8
haec scelera' inquit; 'audite, Ius Fasque. Peregrinos consules et peregrinum senatum in tuo, Iuppiter, augurato templo captus ipse atque oppressus visurus es! Haecine foedera Tullus, Romanus rex, cum 9
Albanis, patribus vestris, Latini, haec L. Tarquinius vobiscum postea fecit? Non venit in mentem pugna 10
apud Regillum lacum? Adeo et cladium veterum vestrarum et beneficiorum nostrorum ergo vos obliti estis?'

Cum consulis vocem subsecuta patrum indig- 6
natio esset, proditur memoriae adversus crebram inplorationem deum, quos testes foederum saepius invocabant consules, vocem Anni spernentis numina Iovis Romani auditam. Certe, cum commotus ira se a vesti- 2
bulo templi citato gradu proriperet, lapsus per gradus capite graviter offenso impactus imo ita est saxo, ut sopiretur. Exanimatum auctores quoniam non omnes 3
sunt, mihi quoque in incerto relictum sit, sicut inter foederum ruptorum testationem ingenti fragore caeli procellam effusam; nam et vera esse et apte ad repraesentandam iram deum ficta possunt.

Torquatus missus ab senatu ad dimittendos legatos 4
cum iacentem Annium vidisset, exclamat, ita ut populo patribusque audita vox pariter sit: 'bene habet; di pium movere bellum. Est caeleste numen; es, magne 5
Iuppiter; haud frustra te patrem deum hominumque hac sede sacravimus. Quid cessatis, Quirites vosque 6
patres conscripti, arma capere deis ducibus? Sic stratas legiones Latinorum dabo, quem ad modum legatum iacentem videtis.' Adsensu populi excepta vox con- 7
sulis tantum ardoris animis fecit, ut legatos proficis-

centes cura magistratuum magis, qui iussu consulis prosequebantur, quam ius gentium ab ira impetuque hominum tegeret.

8 Consensit et senatus bellum; consulesque duobus scriptis exercitibus per Marsos Paelignosque profecti adiuncto Samnitium exercitu ad Capuam, quo iam 9 Latini sociique convenerant, castra locant. Ibi in quiete utrique consuli eadem dicitur visa species viri maioris quam pro humano habitu augustiorisque, dicentis ex una acie imperatorem, ex altera exercitum deis Mani- 10 bus matrique Terrae deberi. Utrius exercitus imperator legiones hostium superque eas se devovisset, eius populi partisque victoriam fore.

11 Hos ubi nocturnos visus inter se consules contulerunt, placuit averruncandae deum irae victimas caedi, simul ut, si extis eadem, quae *in* somnio visa fuerant, 12 portenderentur, alteruter consulum fata impleret. Ubi responsa haruspicum insidenti iam animo tacitae religioni congruerunt, tum adhibitis legatis tribunisque et imperiis deum propalam expositis, ne mors volun- 13 taria consulis exercitum in acie terreret, comparant inter se, ut, ab utra parte cedere Romanus exercitus coepisset, inde se consul devoveret pro populo Romano Quiritibusque.

14 Agitatum etiam in consilio est, ut, si quando umquam severo ullum imperio bellum administratum esset, tunc utique disciplina militaris ad priscos redi- 15 geretur mores. Curam acuebat, quod adversus Latinos bellandum erat, lingua, moribus, armorum genere, institutis ante omnia militaribus congruentes: milites militibus, centurionibus centuriones, tribuni tribunis compares collegaeque iisdem praesidiis, saepe iisdem

manipulis permixti fuerant. Per haec ne quo errore 16
milites caperentur, edicunt consules, ne quis extra ordinem in hostem pugnaret.

Forte inter ceteros turmarum praefectos, qui 7
exploratum in omnes partes dimissi erant, T. Manlius consulis filius super castra hostium cum suis turmalibus evasit, ita ut vix teli iactu ab statione proxima abesset. Ibi Tusculani erant equites; praeerat Gemi- 2
nus Maecius, vir cum genere inter suos tum factis clarus. Is ubi Romanos equites insignemque inter eos praeceden- 3
tem consulis filium — nam omnes inter se, utique illustres viri, noti erant — cognovit, 'unane' ait 'turma, 4
Romani, cum Latinis sociisque bellum gesturi estis? Quid interea consules, quid duo exercitus consulares agent?' 'Aderunt in tempore' Manlius inquit, 'et cum 5
illis aderit Iuppiter ipse, foederum a vobis violatorum testis, qui plus potest polletque. Si ad Regillum lacum 6
ad satietatem vestram pugnavimus, hic quoque efficiemus profecto, ne nimis acies vobis et collata signa nobiscum cordi sint.' Ad ea Geminus paulum ab suis 7
equo provectus: 'visne igitur, dum dies ista venit, qua magno conatu exercitus moveatis, interea tu ipse congredi mecum, ut nostro duorum iam hinc eventu cernatur, quantum eques Latinus Romano praestet?'

Movet ferocem animum iuvenis seu ira seu detrac- 8
tandi certaminis pudor seu inexsuperabilis vis fati. Oblitus itaque imperii patrii consulumque edicti praeceps ad id certamen agitur, quo vinceret an vinceretur haud multum interesset. Equitibus ceteris velut ad 9
spectaculum summotis spatio, quod vacui interiacebat campi, adversos concitant equos; et cum infestis cuspidibus concurrissent, Manli cuspis super galeam hostis,

10 Maeci trans cervicem equi elapsa est. Circumactis deinde equis cum prior ad iterandum ictum Manlius consurrexisset, spiculum inter aures equi fixit. Ad cuius vulneris sensum cum equus prioribus pedibus
11 erectis magna vi caput quateret, excussit equitem, quem cuspide parmaque innixum attollentem se ab gravi casu Manlius ab iugulo, ita ut per costas ferrum emi-
12 neret, terrae adfixit; spoliisque lectis ad suos revectus cum ovante gaudio turma in castra atque inde ad praetorium ad patrem tendit, ignarus fati futurique, laus an poena merita esset.
13 'Ut me omnes' inquit, 'pater, tuo sanguine ortum vere ferrent, provocatus equestria haec spolia capta ex
14 hoste caeso porto.' Quod ubi audivit consul, extemplo filium aversatus contionem classico advocari iussit.
15 Quae ubi frequens convenit, 'quandoque' inquit 'tu, T. Manli, neque imperium consulare neque maiestatem patriam veritus adversus edictum nostrum extra ordi-
16 nem in hostem pugnasti et, quantum in te fuit, disciplinam militarem, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res, solvisti meque in eam necessitatem adduxisti, ut aut rei publicae mihi aut mei meorumque obliviscen-
17 dum sit, nos potius nostro delicto plectemur, quam res publica tanto suo damno nostra peccata luat. Triste exemplum, sed in posterum salubre iuventuti erimus.
18 Me quidem cum ingenita caritas liberum tum specimen istud virtutis deceptum vana imagine decoris in te mo-
19 vet; sed cum aut morte tua sancienda sint consulum imperia aut impunitate in perpetuum abroganda, ne te quidem, si quid in te nostri sanguinis est, recusare censeam, quin disciplinam militarem culpa tua pro-
20 lapsam poena restituas. I, lictor, deliga ad palum.'

Exanimati omnes tam atroci imperio nec aliter quam in se quisque destrictam cernentes securem, metu magis quam modestia quievere. Itaque velut demerso ab 21
admiratione animo cum silentio defixi stetissent, repente, postquam cervice caesa fusus est cruor, tam libero conquestu coortae voces sunt, ut neque lamentis neque exsecrationibus parceretur, spoliisque contectum 22
iuvenis corpus, quantum militaribus studiis funus ullum concelebrari potest, structo extra vallum rogo cremaretur Manlianaque imperia non in praesentia modo horrenda, sed exempli etiam tristis in posterum essent.

Fecit tamen atrocitas poenae oboedientiorem duci 8
militem, et praeterquam quod custodiae vigiliaeque et ordo stationum intentioris ubique curae erant, in ultimo etiam certamine, cum descensum in aciem est, ea severitas profuit. Fuit autem civili maxime bello 2
pugna similis; adeo nihil apud Latinos dissonum ab Romana re praeter animos erat.

Clipeis antea Romani usi sunt; dein, postquam sti- 3
pendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea phalanges similes Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: postremo in plures ordines instruebantur. Ordo sexagenos milites, duos 4
centuriones, vexillarium unum habebat.

Prima acies hastati erant, manipuli quindecim, dis- 5
tantes inter se modicum spatium; manipulus leves vicenos milites, aliam turbam scutatorum habebat; leves autem, qui hastam tantum gaesaque gererent, vocabantur. Haec prima frons in acie florem iuvenum 6
pubescentium ad militiam habebat. Robustior inde aetas totidem manipulorum, quibus principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, scutati omnes, insignibus maxime

armis. Hoc triginta manipulorum agmen antepilanos appellabant, quia sub signis iam alii quindecim ordines locabantur, ex quibus ordo unus quisque tres partes habebat; earum primam quamque [primum] pilum vocabant; tribus ex vexillis constabat; [vexillum] centum octoginta sex homines erant; primum vexillum triarios ducebat, veteranum militem spectatae virtutis, secundum rorarios, minus roboris aetate factisque, tertium accensos, minimae fiduciae manum; eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur.

Ubi his ordinibus exercitus instructus esset, hastati omnium primi pugnam inibant. Si hastati profligare hostem non possent, pede presso eos retro cedentes in intervalla ordinum principes recipiebant. Tum principum pugna erat; hastati sequebantur. Triarii sub vexillis considebant sinistro crure porrecto, scuta innixa umeris, hastas subrecta cuspide in terra fixas, haud secus quam vallo saepta inhorreret acies, tenentes. Si apud principes quoque haud satis prospere esset pugnatum, *gradum* a prima acie ad triarios sensim referebant. Inde rem ad triarios redisse, cum laboratur, proverbio increbuit. Triarii consurgentes, ubi in intervalla ordinum suorum principes et hastatos recepissent, extemplo compressis ordinibus velut claudebant vias unoque continenti agmine iam nulla spe post relicta in hostem incidebant; id erat formidolosissimum hosti, cum velut victos insecuti novam repente aciem exsurgentem, auctam numero, cernebant.

Scribebantur autem quattuor fere legiones quinis milibus peditum, equitibus in singulas legiones trecenis. Alterum tantum ex Latino dilectu adiciebatur, qui ea tempestate hostes erant Romanis eodemque ordine

instruxerant aciem; nec vexilla cum vexillis tantum, 15
universi hastati cum hastatis, principes cum principibus, sed centurio quoque cum centurione, si ordines turbati non essent, concurrendum sibi esse sciebat. Duo primi pili ex utraque acie inter triarios erant, Ro- 16
manus corpore haudquaquam satis validus, ceterum strenuus vir peritusque militiae, Latinus viribus ingens 17
bellatorque primus, notissimi inter se, quia pares semper ordines duxerant. Romano haud satis fidenti viri- 18
bus iam Romae permissum erat ab consulibus, ut subcenturionem sibi, quem vellet, legeret, qui tutaretur eum ab uno destinato hoste. Isque iuvenis in acie oblatus ex centurione Latino victoriam tulit.

Pugnatum est haud procul radicibus Vesuvi montis, 19
qua via ad Veserim ferebat.

Romani consules, priusquam educerent in aciem, **9**
immolaverunt. Decio caput iocineris a familiari parte caesum haruspex dicitur ostendisse; alioqui acceptam dis hostiam esse; Manlium egregie litasse. 'Atqui bene habet' inquit Decius, 'si ab collega litatum est.' In- 2
structis, sicut ante dictum est, ordinibus processere in aciem. Manlius dextro, Decius laevo cornu praeerat. Primo utrimque aequis viribus, eodem ardore animo- 3
rum gerebatur res; deinde ab laevo cornu hastati Romani, non ferentes impressionem Latinorum, se ad principes recepere. In hac trepidatione Decius consul M. Val- 4
erium magna voce inclamat: 'deorum' inquit 'ope, M. Valeri, opus est; agedum, pontifex publicus populi Romani praei verba, quibus me pro legionibus devoveam.'

Pontifex eum togam praetextam sumere iussit et 5
velato capite, manu subter togam ad mentum exserta, super telum subiectum pedibus stantem sic dicere:

6 'Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares,
divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi, quorum est potestas
nostrorum hostiumque, dique manes, vos precor, vene-
7 ror, veniam peto oroque, uti populo Romano Quiri-
tium vim victoriamque prosperetis hostesque populi
Romani Quiritium terrore, formidine morteque adfi-
8 ciatis. Sicut verbis nuncupavi, ita pro re publica ex-
ercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium
legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum deis Manibus Tel-
lurique devoveo.'

9 Haec ita precatus lictores ire ad T. Manlium iubet
matureque collegae se devotum pro exercitu nuntiare.
Ipse incinctus cinctu Gabino, armatus in equum in-
silivit ac se in medios hostes immisit, conspectus ab
10 utraque acie. Aliquanto augustior humano visus, sicut
caelo missus piaculum omnis deorum irae, qui pestem
11 ab suis aversam in hostes ferret; ita omnis terror pavor-
que cum illo latus signa prima Latinorum turbavit,
12 deinde in totam penitus aciem pervasit. Evidentis-
simum id fuit, quod, quacumque equo invectus est,
ibi haud secus quam pestifero sidere icti pavebant;
ubi vero corruit obrutus telis, inde iam haud dubie
consternatae cohortes Latinorum fugam ac vastitatem
13 late fecerunt. Simul et Romani exsolutis religione
animis velut tum primum signo dato coorti pugnam
14 integram ediderunt; nam et rorarii procurrebant inter
antepilanos addiderantque vires hastatis ac principibus,
et triarii genu dextro innixi nutum consulis ad con-
surgendum exspectabant.

10 Procedente deinde certamine cum aliis partibus
multitudo superaret Latinorum Manlius consul audito
eventu collegae cum, ut ius fasque erat, lacrimis non

minus quam laudibus debitis prosecutus tam memorabilem mortem esset, paulisper addubitavit, an consurgendi iam triariis tempus esset; deinde melius ratus integros eos ad ultimum discrimen servari, accensos ab novissima acie ante signa procedere iubet. Qui ubi subiere, extemplo Latini tamquam idem adversarii fecissent, triarios suos excitaverunt; qui aliquamdiu pugna atroci cum et semet ipsi fatigassent et hastas aut praefregissent aut hebetassent, pellerent vi tamen hostem, debellatum iam rati perventumque ad extremam aciem, tum consul triariis 'consurgite nunc' inquit 'integri adversus fessos, memores patriae parentumque et coniugum ac liberorum, memores consulis pro vestra victoria morte occubantis.'

Ubi triarii consurrexerunt, integri, refulgentibus armis, nova ex improviso exorta acies, receptis in intervalla ordinum antepilanis, clamore sublato principia Latinorum perturbant hastisque ora fodientes primo robore virorum caeso per alios manipulos velut inermes prope intacti evasere tantaque caede perrupere cuneos, ut vix quartam partem relinquerent hostium. Samnites quoque sub radicibus montis procul instructi praebuere terrorem Latinis. Ceterum inter omnes cives sociosque praecipua laus eius belli penes consules fuit, quorum alter omnes minas periculaque ab deis superis inferisque in se unum vertit, alter ea virtute eoque consilio in proelio fuit, ut facile convenerit inter Romanos Latinosque, qui eius pugnae memoriam posteris tradiderunt, utrius partis T. Manlius dux fuisset, eius futuram haud dubie fuisse victoriam.

Latini ex fuga se Minturnas contulerunt. Castra secundum proelium capta, multique mortales ibi vivi

10 oppressi, maxime Campani. Deci corpus ne eo die inveniretur, nox quaerentes oppressit; postero die inventum inter maximam hostium stragem coopertum telis; funusque ei par morti celebrante collega factum est.

11 Illud adiciendum videtur, licere consuli dictatorique et praetori, cum legiones hostium devoveat, non utique se, sed quem velit ex legione Romana scripta civem
12 devovere. Si is homo, qui devotus est, moritur, probe factum videri; ni moritur, tum signum septem pedes altum aut maius in terram defodi et piaculum hostiam caedi; ubi illud signum defossum erit, eo magistratum
13 Romanum escendere fas non esse. Sin autem sese devovere volet, sicuti Decius devovit, ni moritur, neque suum neque publicum divinum pure faciet, sive hostia sive quo alio volet. Qui sese devoverit, Vulcano arma
14 sive cui alii divo vovere volet, ius est; telo, super quod stans consul precatus est, hostem potiri fas non est; si potiatur, Marti suovetaurilibus piaculum fieri.

LIBER IX

1–6

Sequitur hunc annum nobilis clade Romana Caudina pax T. Veturio Calvino Sp. Postumio consulibus. Samnites eo anno imperatorem C. Pontium, Herenni filium, habuerunt, patre longe prudentissimo natum, primum ipsum bellatorem ducemque. Is, ubi legati, qui ad dedendas res missi erant, pace infecta redierunt, 'ne nihil actum' inquit 'hac legatione censeatis, expiatum est quidquid ex foedere rupto irarum in nos caelestium fuit. Satis scio, quibuscumque dis cordi fuit subigi nos ad necessitatem dedendi res, quae ab nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant, iis non fuisse cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem spretam. Quid enim ultra fieri ad placandos deos mitigandosque homines potuit, quam quod nos fecimus? Res hostium in praeda captas, quae belli iure nostrae videbantur, remisimus; auctores belli, quia vivos non potuimus, perfunctos iam fato dedidimus; bona eorum, ne quid ex contagione noxae remaneret penes nos, Romam portavimus. Quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid foederi, quid dis arbitris foederis debeo? Quem tibi tuarum irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iudicem feram? Neminem neque populum neque privatum fugio. Quod si nihil cum potentiore iuris humani relinquitur inopi, at ego ad deos vindices intolerandae superbiae con-

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

fugiam et precabor, ut iras suas vertant in eos, quibus
9 non suae redditae res, non alienae accumulatae satis
sint; quorum saevitiam non mors noxiorum, non de-
ditio exanimatorum corporum, non bona sequentia
domini deditionem exsatient; *qui* placari nequeant,
nisi hauriendum sanguinem laniandaque viscera nostra
10 praebuerimus. Iustum est bellum, Samnites, quibus
necessarium, et pia arma quibus nulla nisi in armis
11 relinquitur spes. Proinde, cum rerum humanarum max-
imum momentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam ad-
versis agant dis, pro certo habete priora bella adversus
deos magis quam homines gessisse, hoc, quod instat,
ducibus ipsis dis gesturos.'

2 Haec non laeta magis quam vera vaticinatus exer-
citu educto circa Caudium castra quam potest occul-
2 tissime locat; inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam consules Ro-
manos castraque esse audiebat, milites decem pastorum
habitu mittit pecoraque diversos, alium alibi, haud
3 procul Romanis pascere iubet praesidiis; ubi inciderint
in praedatores, ut idem omnibus sermo constet: legio-
nes Samnitium in Apulia esse, Luceriam omnibus copiis
4 circumsedere, nec procul abesse, quin vi capiant. Iam
is rumor, et ante de industria vulgatus, venerat ad Ro-
manos, sed fidem auxere captivi, eo maxime, quod
sermo inter omnes congruebat.

5 Haud erat dubium, quin Lucerinis opem Romanus
ferret, bonis ac fidelibus sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis
ad praesentem terrorem deficeret; ea modo, qua irent,
6 consultatio fuit. Duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera
praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaque, sed quanto
tutior, tanto fere longior, altera per furculas Caudinas,
7 brevior; sed ita natus locus est: saltus duo alti, an-

gusti silvosique sunt, montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti; iacet inter eos satis patens, clausus in medio, campus herbidus aquosusque, per quem medium iter est; sed antequam venias ad eum, intrandae primae 8 angustiae sunt, et aut eadem, qua te insinuaveris, retro via repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum, artiorem impeditioremque, evadendum.

In eum campum via alia per cavam rupem Romani 9 demisso agmine cum ad alias angustias protinus pergerent, saeptas deiectu arborum saxorumque ingentium obiacente mole invenere. Cum fraus hostilis apparuisset, praesidium etiam in summo saltu conspicitur. Citati inde retro, qua venerant, pergunt repetere 10 viam; eam quoque clausam sua obice armisque inveniunt. Sistunt inde gradum sine ullius imperio, stuporque omnium animos ac velut torpor quidam insolitus membra tenet, intuentesque alii alios, cum al- 11 terum quisque compotem magis mentis ac consilii ducerent, diu immobiles silent; deinde, ubi praetoria 12 consulum erigi videre et expedire quosdam utilia operi, quamquam ludibrio fore munientes perditis rebus ac spe omni adempta cernebant, tamen, ne culpam malis 13 adderent, pro se quisque nec hortante ullo nec imperante ad muniendum versi castra propter aquam vallo circumdant, sua ipsi opera laboremque irritum, praeterquam quod hostes superbe increpabant, cum misera- 14 bili confessione eludentes. Ad consules maestos, ne 15 advocantes quidem in consilium, quando nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset, sua sponte legati ac tribuni conveniunt, militesque ad praetorium versi opem, quam vix di immortales ferre poterant, ab ducibus exposcunt.

3 Querentes magis quam consultantes nox oppressit, cum pro ingenio quisque fremerent, alius: 'per obices viarum, per adversa montium, per silvas, qua 2 ferri arma poterunt, eamus, modo ad hostem pervenire liceat, quem per annos iam prope triginta vincimus; omnia aequa et plana erunt Romano in perfi- 3 dum Samnitem pugnanti;' alius: 'quo aut qua eamus? Num montes moliri sede sua paramus? Dum haec imminebunt iuga, qua tu ad hostem venias? Armati inermes, fortes ignavi, pariter omnes capti atque victi sumus; ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum obla- 4 turus est hostis; sedens bellum conficiet.' His in vicem sermonibus qua cibi, qua quietis immemor nox traducta est.

Ne Samnitibus quidem consilium in tam laetis suppetebat rebus; itaque universi Herennium Pontium, patrem imperatoris, per litteras consulendum censent. 5 Iam is gravis annis non militaribus solum sed civilibus quoque abscesserat muneribus; in corpore tamen ad- 6 fecto vigebat vis animi consiliique. Is ubi accepit ad furculas Caudinas inter duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos, consultus ab nuntio filii censuit omnes inde quam primum inviolatos dimittendos.

7 Quae ubi spreta sententia est iterumque eodem remeante nuntio consulebatur, censuit ad unum omnes interficiendos.

8 Quae ubi tam discordia inter se velut ex ancipiti oraculo responsa data sunt, quamquam filius ipse in primis iam animum quoque patris consenuisse in adfecto corpore rebatur, tamen consensu omnium victus 9 est, ut ipsum in consilium acciret. Nec gravatus senex plaustro in castra dicitur advectus vocatusque in con-

silium ita ferme locutus esse, ut nihil sententiae suae mutaret, causas tantum adiceret: priore se consilio, 10
quod optimum duceret, cum potentissimo populo per ingens beneficium perpetuam firmare pacem amicitiamque; altero consilio in multas aetates, quibus amissis duobus exercitibus haud facile receptura vires Romana res *esset*, bellum differre; tertium nullum consilium esse.

Cum filius aliique principes percunctando exsequerentur, 'quid, si media via consilii caperetur, ut et dimitterentur incolumes et leges iis iure belli victis imponerentur,' 'ista quidem sententia' inquit 'ea est, 12
quae neque amicos parat nec inimicos tollit. Servate modo quos ignominia irritaveritis: ea est Romana gens, quae victa quiescere nesciat. Vivet semper in 13
pectoribus illorum quidquid istuc praesens necessitas inusserit, nec eos ante multiplices poenas expetitas a vobis quiescere sinet.'

Neutra sententia accepta Herennius domum e 4
castris est avectus; et in castris Romanis cum frustra multi conatus ad erumpendum capti essent et iam omnium rerum inopia esset, victi necessitate legatos mit- 2
tunt, qui primum pacem aequam peterent; si pacem non impetrarent, uti provocarent ad pugnam. Tum 3
Pontius debellatum esse respondit et, quoniam ne victi quidem ac capti fortunam fateri scirent, inermes cum singulis vestimentis sub iugum missurum; alias condiciones pacis aequas victis ac victoribus fore: si agro 4
Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abducerentur, suis inde legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo foedere victurum; his condicionibus paratum se esse foedus cum 5
consulibus ferire; si quid eorum displiceat, legatos redire ad se vetuit.

6 Haec cum legatio renuntiaretur, tantus gemitus omnium subito exortus est tantaque maestitia incessit ut non gravius accepturi viderentur, si nuntiaretur
7 omnibus eo loco mortem oppetendam esse. Cum diu silentium fuisset nec consules aut pro foedere tam turpi aut contra foedus tam necessarium hiscere possent, tum L. Lentulus, qui princeps legatorum virtute atque
8 honoribus erat: 'patrem meum' inquit, 'consules, saepe audivi memorantem se in Capitolio unum non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae auro a Gallis civitatis, quando nec fossa valloque ab ignavissimo ad opera ac muniendum hoste clausi essent et erumpere si non sine magno periculo, tamen sine certa pernicie
9 possent. Quod si, ut illis decurrere ex Capitolio armatis in hostem licuit, quo saepe modo obsessi in obsidentes eruperunt, ita nobis aequo aut iniquo loco dimicandi tantummodo cum hoste copia esset, non mihi
10 paterni animi indoles in consilio dando deesset. Equidem mortem pro patria praeclaram esse fateor et me vel devovere pro populo Romano legionibusque vel in
11 medios immittere hostes paratus sum; sed hic patriam video, hic quidquid Romanarum legionum est, quae, nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem ruere volunt, quid habent,
12 quod morte sua servent? 'Tecta urbis' dicat aliquis 'et moenia et eam turbam, a qua urbs incolitur.' Immo hercule produntur ea omnia deleto hoc exercitu, non
13 servantur. Quis enim ea tuebitur? Imbellis videlicet atque inermis multitudo. Tam hercule, quam a Gallo-
14 rum impetu defendit. An a Veis exercitum Camillumque ducem implorabunt? Hic omnes spes opesque sunt, quas servando patriam servamus, dedendo ad
15 necem patriam deserimus ac prodimus. 'At foeda

atque ignominiosa deditio est.' Sed ea caritas patriae est, ut tam ignominia eam quam morte nostra, si opus sit, servemus. Subeatur ergo ista, quantacumque est, 16
indignitas et pareatur necessitati, quam ne di quidem superant. Ite, consules, redimite armis civitatem, quam auro maiores vestri redemerunt.'

Consules profecti ad Pontium in colloquium, cum 5
de foedere victor agitaret, negarunt iniussu populi foedus fieri posse nec sine fetialibus caerimoniaque alia sollemni. Itaque non, ut vulgo credunt Claudiusque etiam 2
scribit, foedere pax Caudina sed per sponsionem facta est. Quid enim aut sponsoribus in foedere opus esset 3
aut obsidibus, ubi precatione res transigitur, per quem populum fiat, quo minus legibus dictis stetur, ut eum ita Iuppiter feriat, quem ad modum a fetialibus porcus feriatur? Spoponderunt consules, legati, quaestores, tri- 4
buni militum, nominaque omnium, qui spoponderunt, exstant, ubi, si ex foedere acta res esset, praeterquam duorum fetialium non exstarent; et propter necessariam 5
foederis dilationem obsides etiam sescenti equites imperati, qui capite luerent, si pacto non staretur. Tem- 6
pus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus exercituque inermi mittendo.

Redintegravit luctum in castris consulum adventus, ut vix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temeritate in eum locum deducti essent, quorum ignavia foedius inde, quam venissent, abituri: illis non ducem loco- 7
rum, non exploratorem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos in foveam lapsos. Alii alios intueri, contemplari arma 8
mox tradenda et inermes futuras dextras obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria victoris et vultus superbos et per

armatos inermium iter, inde foedi agminis miserabilem viam per sociorum urbes, reditum in patriam ad parentes, quo saepe ipsi maioresque eorum triumphantes, venissent: se solos sine vulnere, sine ferro, sine acie victos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non manum cum hoste conferre; sibi nequiquam animos datos.

Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae advenit, omnia tristiora experiundo factura, quam quae praeceperant animis. Iam primum cum singulis vestimentis inermes extra vallum exire iussi, et primi traditi obsides atque in custodiam abducti. Tum a consulibus abire lictores iussi paludamentaque detracta: *id* tantam inter ipsos, qui paulo ante eos exsecrantes dedendos lacerandosque censuerant, miserationem fecit, ut suae quisque condicionis oblitus ab illa deformatione tantae maiestatis velut ab nefando spectaculo averteret oculos.

6 Primi consules prope seminudi sub iugum missi, tum ut quisque gradu proximus erat, ita ignominiae obiectus, tum deinceps singulae legiones. Circumstabant armati hostes, exprobantes eludentesque; gladii etiam plerisque intentati, et vulnerati quidam necatique, si vultus eorum indignitate rerum acrior victorem offendisset. Ita traducti sub iugum et, quod paene gravius erat, per hostium oculos, cum e saltu evasissent, etsi velut ab inferis extracti tum primum lucem adspicere visi sunt, tamen ipsa lux ita deforme intuentibus agmen omni morte tristior fuit.

LIBER X

6–9, 27–29, 47

M. Valerio et Q. Apuleio consulibus satis pacatae **6**
foris res fuere: Etruscum adversae belli res et indutiae
quietum tenebant; Samnitem multorum annorum cladi- 2
bus domitum hauddum foederis novi paenitebat. Ro- 3
mae quoque plebem quietam, ut exoneratam, deducta
in colonias multitudo praestabat. Tamen, ne undique
tranquillae res essent, certamen iniectum inter primores
civitatis, patricios plebeiosque, ab tribunis plebis Q.
et Cn. Ogulniis, qui undique criminandorum patrum 4
apud plebem occasionibus quaesitis, postquam alia
frustra temptata erant, eam actionem susceperunt,
qua non infimam plebem accenderent, sed ipsa capita
plebis, consulares triumphalesque plebeios, quorum ho- 5
noribus nihil praeter sacerdotia, quae nondum pro-
miscua erant, deesset. Rogationem ergo promulgarunt, 6
ut, cum quattuor augures, quattuor pontifices ea tem-
pestate essent placeretque augeri sacerdotum numerum,
quattuor pontifices, quinque augures de plebe omnes
adlegerentur. Quem ad modum ad quattuor augurum 7
numerum, nisi morte duorum, id redigi collegium po-
tuerit, non invenio, cum inter augures constet imparem
numerum debere esse, ut tres antiquae tribus, Ramnes,
Titienses, Luceres, suum quaeque augurem habeant 8
aut, si pluribus sit opus, pari inter se numero sacer-

dotes multiplicent, sicut multiplicati sunt, cum ad quattuor quinque adiecti novem numerum, ut terni in singulas
9 essent, expleverunt. Ceterum, quia de plebe adlegebantur, iuxta eam rem aegre passi patres, quam cum con-
10 sulatum vulgari viderent. Simulabant ad deos id magis quam ad se pertinere: ipsos visuros, ne sacra sua polluantur; id se optare tantum, ne qua in rem publicam
11 clades veniat. Minus autem tetendere, adsueti iam tali genere certaminum vinci; et cernebant adversarios non id, quod olim vix speraverint, adfectantes, magnos honores, sed omnia iam, in quorum spem dubiam erat certatum, adeptos, multiplices consulatus censurasque et triumphos.

7 Certatum tamen suadenda dissuadendaque lege inter Ap. Claudium maxime ferunt et inter P. Decium
2 Murem. Qui cum eadem ferme de iure patrum ac plebis, quae pro lege Licinia quondam contraque eam dicta erant, cum plebeis consulatus rogabatur, disseruissent, rettulisse dicitur Decius parentis sui speciem,
3 qualem cum multi, qui in contione erant, viderant, incinctum Gabino cultu super telum stantem, quo se habitu pro populo ac legionibus Romanis devovisset:
4 tum P. Decium consulem purum piumque deis immortalibus visum, aeque ac si T. Manlius collega eius de-
5 voveretur; eundem P. Decium, qui sacra publica populi Romani faceret, legi rite non potuisse? Id esse periculum, ne suas preces minus audirent di quam Ap. Claudi? Castius cum sacra privata facere et religiosius deos
6 colere quam se? Quem paenitere votorum, quae pro re publica nuncupaverint tot consules plebei, tot dictatores, aut ad exercitus euntes aut inter ipsa bella? Nu-
7 merarentur duces eorum annorum, quibus plebeiorum

ductu et auspicio res geri coeptae sint; numerarentur triumphi: iam ne nobilitatis quidem suae plebeios paenitere. Pro certo habere, si quod repens bellum 8
oriatur, non plus spei fore senatui populoque Romano in patriciis quam in plebeis ducibus.

'Quod cum ita se habeat, cui deorum hominumve 9
indignum videri potest' inquit 'eos viros, quos vos sellis curulibus, toga praetexta, tunica palmata et toga picta et corona triumphali laureaque honoraritis, quorum domos spoliis hostium adfixis insignes inter alias feceritis, pontificalia atque auguralia insignia adicere? Qui Iovis optimi maximi ornatu decoratus curru aurato 10
per urbem vectus in Capitolium ascenderit, is *non* conspicietur cum capide ac lituo, *non* capite velato victimam caedet auguriumve ex arce capiet? *In* cuius imaginis 11
titulo consulatus censuraque et triumphus aequo animo legetur, si auguratum aut pontificatum adieceritis, non sustinebunt legentium oculi? Equidem — pace 12
dixerim deum — eos nos iam populi Romani beneficio esse spero, qui sacerdotiis non minus reddamus dignatione nostra honoris, quam acceperimus, et deorum magis quam nostra causa expetamus, ut, quos privatim colimus, publice colamus.

Quid autem ego sic adhuc egi, tamquam integra 8
sit causa patriciorum de sacerdotiis et non iam in possessione unius amplissimi simus sacerdotii? Decem- 2
viros sacris faciundis, carminum Sibyllae ac fatorum populi huius interpretes, antistites eosdem Apollinaris sacri caerimoniarumque aliarum plebeios videmus. Nec 3
aut tum patriciis ulla iniuria facta est, cum duumviris sacris faciundis adiectus est propter plebeios numerus, et nunc tribunus, vir fortis ac strenuus, quinque augu-

rum loca, quattuor pontificum adicit, in quae plebei
4 nominentur, non ut vos, Appi, vestro loco pellant, sed
ut adiuvent vos homines plebei divinis quoque rebus
procurandis, sicut in ceteris humanis pro parte virili
5 adiuvant. Noli erubescere, Appi, collegam in sacerdotio
habere, quem in censura, quem in consulatu collegam
habere potuisti, cuius tam dictatoris magister equitum
6 quam magistri equitum dictator esse potes. Sabinum
advenam, principem nobilitatis vestrae, seu Attium
Clausum seu Appium Claudium mavultis, illi antiqui
patricii in suum numerum acceperunt: *tu* ne fastidieris
7 nos in sacerdotum numerum accipere. Multa nobis-
cum decora adferimus, immo omnia eadem, quae vos
superbos fecerunt: L. Sextius primus de plebe consul
8 est factus, C. Licinius Stolo primus magister equitum,
C. Marcius Rutilus primus et dictator et censor, Q.
9 Publilius Philo primus praetor. Semper ista audita
sunt eadem, penes vos auspicia esse, vos solos gentem
habere, vos solos iustum imperium et auspicium domi
militiaeque: aeque adhuc prosperum plebeium et patri-
10 cium fuit porroque erit. En umquam fando audistis
patricios primo esse factos non de caelo demissos, sed
qui patrem ciere possent, id est nihil ultra quam in-
11 genuos? Consulem iam patrem ciere possum, avum-
que iam poterit filius meus. Nihil est aliud in re, Quirites,
12 nisi ut omnia negata adipiscamur; certamen tantum
patricii petunt nec curant, quem eventum certaminum
habeant. Ego hanc legem, quod bonum, faustum
felixque sit vobis ac rei publicae, uti rogas, iubendam
censeo.'

9 Vocare tribus extemplo populus iubebat, appare-
batque accipi legem; ille tamen dies intercessione est

sublatus; postero die deterritis tribunis ingenti consensu accepta est. Pontifices creantur suasor legis P. Decius Mus, P. Sempronius Sophus, C. Marcius Rutilus, M. Livius Denter; quinque augures item de plebe: C. Genucius, P. Aelius Paetus, M. Minucius Faesus, C. Marcius, T. Publilius. Ita octo pontificum, novem augurum numerus factus. 2

Eodem anno M. Valerius consul de provocatione legem tulit diligentius sanctam. Tertio ea tum post reges exactos lata est, semper a familia eadem. Causam renovandae saepius haud aliam fuisse reor, quam quod plus paucorum opes quam libertas plebis poterat. Porcia tamen lex sola pro tergo civium lata videtur, quod gravi poena, si quis verberasset necassetve civem Romanum, sanxit; Valeria lex cum eum, qui provocasset, virgis caedi securique necari vetuisset, si quis adversus ea fecisset, nihil ultra quam 'improbe factum' adiecit. Id, qui tum pudor hominum erat, visum, credo, vinculum satis validum legis; nunc vix serio ita minetur quisquam. 3 4 5 6

27–29

Consules ad hostes transgressos Appenninum in agrum Sentinatem pervenerunt. Ibi quattuor milium ferme intervallo castra posita. Inter hostes deinde consultationes habitae, atque ita convenit, ne unis castris miscerentur omnes neve in aciem descenderent simul; Samnitibus Galli, Etruscis Umbri adiecti. Dies in*de* dicta pugnae; Samniti*bus* Gallisque delegata pugna; inter ipsum certamen Etrusci Umbrique iussi castra Romana oppugnare. Haec consilia turbarunt transfugae Clusini tres, clam nocte ad Fabium 27 2 3 4

consulem transgressi, qui editis hostium consiliis dimissi cum donis, ut subinde, ut quaeque res nova decreta esset, 5 exploratam perferrent. Consules Fulvio, ut ex Falisco, Postumio, ut ex Vaticano *agro* exercitum ad Clusium admoveant summaque vi fines hostium depopulentur, 6 scribunt. Huius populationis fama Etruscos ex agro Sentinate ad suos fines tuendos movit. Instare inde consules, ut absentibus iis pugnaretur. Per biduum lacessiere proelio 7 hostem; biduo nihil dignum dictu actum: pauci utrimque cecidere magisque irritati sunt ad iustum certamen animi, quam ad discrimen summa rerum adducta. Tertio die descensum in campum omnibus copiis est.

8 Cum instructae acies starent, cerva fugiens lupum e montibus exacta per campos inter duas acies decurrit; inde diversae ferae, cerva ad Gallos, lupus ad Romanos cursum deflexit. Lupo data inter ordines via; cervam Galli confix- 9 ere. Tum ex antesignanis Romanus miles 'illae fuga' inquit 'et caedes vertit, ubi saeram Dianae feram iacentem videtis; hinc victor Martius lupus, integer et intactus, gentis nos Martiae et conditoris nostri admonuit.'

10 Dextro cornu Galli, sinistro Samnites constiterunt. Adversus Samnites Q. Fabius primam ac tertiam legionem pro dextro cornu, adversus Gallos pro sinistro 11 Decius quintam et sextam instruxit; secunda et quarta cum L. Volumnio proconsule in Samnio gerebant bellum. Primo concursu adeo aequis viribus gesta res est, ut, si adfuissent Etrusci et Umbri, aut in acie aut in castris, quocumque se inclinassent, accipienda clades fuerit.

28 Ceterum quamquam communis adhuc Mars belli erat necdum discrimen fortuna fecerat, qua datura vires esset, haudquaquam similis pugna in dextro laevo-

que cornu erat. Romani apud Fabium arcebant magis 2
quam inferebant pugnam extrahebaturque in quam
maxime serum diei certamen, quia ita persuasum erat 3
duci, et Samnites et Gallos primo impetu feroces esse,
quos sustineri satis sit; longiore certamine sensim re-
sidere Samnitium animos, Gallorum quidem etiam 4
corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus fluere
primaque eorum proelia plus quam virorum, postrema
minus quam feminarum esse. In id tempus igitur, 5
quo vinci solebat hostis, quam integerrimas vires militi
servabat. Ferocior Decius et aetate et vigore animi 6
quantumcumque virium habuit certamine primo effudit.
Et quia lentior videbatur pedestris pugna, equitatum
in pugnam concitat et ipse fortissimae iuvenum turmae 7
immixtus orat proceres iuventutis, in hostem ut secum
impetum faciant: duplicem illorum gloriam fore, si ab
laevo cornu et ab equite victoria incipiat. Bis avertere 8
Gallicum equitatum; iterum longius evectos et iam
inter media peditum agmina proelium cientes novum
pugnae conterruit genus: essedis carrisque superstans 9
armatus hostis ingenti sonitu equorum rotarumque
advenit et insolitos eius tumultus Romanorum con-
terruit equos. Ita victorem equitatum velut lympha- 10
ticus pavor dissipat; sternit inde ruentes equos viros-
que improvida fuga, turbata hinc etiam signa legionum 11
multique impetu equorum ac vehiculorum raptorum
per agmen obtriti antesignani; et insecuta, simul territos
hostes vidit, Gallica acies nullum spatium respirandi reci-
piendique se dedit. Vociferari Decius, quo fugerent quamve 12
in fuga spem haberent; obsistere cedentibus ac revocare
fusos; deinde, ut nulla vi perculsos sustinere poterat,
patrem P. Decium nomine compellans 'quid ultra mo- 13

ror' inquit 'familiare fatum? Datum hoc nostro generi est, ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus; iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri ac dis
14 Manibus dabo.' Haec locutus M. Livium pontificem, quem descendens in aciem digredi vetuerat ab se, praeire iussit verba, quibus se legionesque hostium pro exercitu
15 populi Romani Quiritium devoveret. Devotus inde eadem precatione eodemque habitu, quo pater P. Decius ad Veserim bello Latino se iusserat devoveri, cum se-
16 cundum sollemnes precationes adiecisset, prae se agere sese formidinem ac fugam caedemque ac cruorem, cae-
17 lestium inferorum iras; contacturum funebribus diris signa, tela, arma hostium locumque eundem suae pestis
18 ac Gallorum ac Samnitium fore —, haec exsecratus in se hostesque, qua confertissimam cernebat Gallorum aciem, concitat equum inferensque se ipse infestis telis est interfectus.

29 Vix humanae inde opis videri pugna potuit. Romani duce amisso, quae res terrori alias esse solet, sistere fugam ac novam de integro velle instaurare pug-
2 nam; Galli, et maxime globus circumstans consulis corpus, velut alienata mente vana in cassum iactare tela; torpere quidam et nec pugnae meminisse nec
3 fugae. At ex parte altera pontifex Livius, cui lictores Decius tradiderat iusseratque pro praetore esse, voci-
4 ferari vicisse Romanos, defunctos consulis fato; Gallos Samnitesque Telluris matris ac deorum Manium esse, rapere ad se ac vocare Decium devotam secum aciem furiarumque ac formidinis plena omnia ad hostes esse.
5 Superveniunt deinde his restituentibus pugnam L. Cornelius Scipio et C. Marcius cum subsidiis ex novissima acie iussu Q. Fabi consulis ad praesidium collegae missi.

Ibi auditur P. Deci eventus, ingens hortamen ad omnia pro re publica audenda. Itaque cum Galli structis 6
ante se scutis conferti starent nec facilis pede collato videretur pugna, iussu legatorum collecta humi pila, quae strata inter duas acies iacebant, atque in testudinem hostium coniecta. Quibus plerisque in scuta 7
rarisque in corpora ipsa fixis sternitur cuneus, ita ut magna pars integris corporibus attoniti concciderent. Haec in sinistro cornu Romanorum fortuna variaverat.

Fabius in dextro primo, ut ante dictum est, cunc- 8
tando extraxerat diem; dein, postquam nec clamor hostium nec impetus nec tela missa eandem vim habere visa, praefectis equitum iussis ad latus Samnitium cir- 9
cumducere alas, ut signo dato in transversos quanto maximo possent impetu incurrerent, sensim suos signa inferre iussit et commovere hostem. Postquam non 10
resisti vidit et haud dubiam lassitudinem esse, tum collectis omnibus subsidiis, quae ad id tempus reservaverat, et legiones concitavit et signum ad invadendos hostes equitibus dedit. Nec sustinuerunt Samnites 11
impetum praeterque aciem ipsam Gallorum relictis in dimicatione sociis ad castra effuso cursu ferebantur; Galli testudine facta conferti stabant. Tum Fabius 12
audita morte collegae Campanorum alam, quingentos fere equites, excedere acie iubet et circumvectos ab tergo Gallicam invadere aciem; tertiae deinde legionis 13
subsequi principes et, qua turbatum agmen hostium viderent impetu equitum, instare ac territos caedere. Ipse aedem Iovi Victori spoliaque hostium cum vo- 14
visset, ad castra Samnitium perrexit, quo multitudo omnis consternata agebatur. Sub ipso vallo, quia tan- 15
tam multitudinem portae non recepere, temptata ab

16 exclusis turba suorum pugna est; ibi Gellius Egnatius, imperator Samnitium, cecidit. Compulsi deinde intra vallum Samnites parvoque certamine capta castra, et Galli ab tergo circumventi.

17 Caesa eo die hostium viginti quinque milia, octo capta.

18 Nec incruenta victoria fuit; nam ex P. Deci exercitu caesa septem milia, ex Fabi mille septingenti. Fabius dimissis ad quaerendum collegae corpus spolia hostium coniecta in acervum Iovi Victori cremavit. Consulis

19 corpus eo die, quia obrutum superstratis Gallorum cumulis erat, inveniri non potuit; postero die inventum

20 relatumque est cum multis militum lacrimis. Intermissa inde omnium aliarum rerum cura Fabius collegae funus omni honore laudibusque meritis celebrat.

47

47 Lustrum conditum eo anno est a P. Cornelio Arvina, C. Marcio Rutilo censoribus; censa capitum milia ducenta sexaginta duo trecenta viginti unum. Censores vicesimi sexti a primis censoribus, lustrum undevicesimum fuit.

NOTES

PRAEFATIO

The thought of the Preface is as follows: —

Whether or not I shall accomplish anything worth while in the difficult task of tracing the history of the Roman people from the beginning, I shall at least find pleasure in the thought that I have done my best to perpetuate its achievements. The credibility of the early legends I shall neither affirm nor deny, but I would have every one study the facts of history in order to draw therefrom rules of right conduct. This is especially necessary in these days of greed and luxurious living. May the gods favor this undertaking!

1. Facturusne . . . sim: these opening words make the first four feet of a dactylic hexameter, and rhythmically form a very pleasing beginning. Livy was probably aware of this. Incidentally, the fact that this metrical structure was immediately obvious to a Roman reader, as we know it was, tends to show that the Romans elided in prose as well as in poetry; in order therefore to read Latin poetry successfully they had but to read it naturally. — **perscripserim**: the perf. tense of the subj., used to indicate completed action with reference to *Facturus sim.* — **nec, si sciam, dicere ausim**: in early Latin, and in poets or writers of poetical tendencies of a later period, the pres. or perf. subj. may be used to express a condition contrary to fact. — **ausim**: an early formation of somewhat different origin from that of the regular perf. subj.

2. quippe qui . . . videam: rel. clause of cause, strengthened by *quippe.* — **rem**: that is, the assertion made by many writers of history that their works are of great value. — **dum . . . credunt**: explains the *rem* preceding. — **semper**: the expression is abbreviated, but the meaning is, new writers are constantly appearing who think, etc.

3. et ipsum: *myself also.*

4. Res: that is, the writing of the history of Rome; but in the following clause, *ut quae . . . repetatur*, the rel. pronoun, which refers to *res* as its antecedent, plainly means *the history*, while in the next clause, *quae . . . creverit*, the rel. stands for *Rome*. — **repetatur:** *traced back*. — **festinantibus:** with *plerisque*. — **haec:** of the present time. Most readers, Livy says, will prefer to read contemporary history rather than the early legends.

5. malorum: in this word and in the expression *vires . . . conficiunt* above, Livy refers to the horrors of the civil wars, which for a quarter of a century before he began writing his history had devastated all Italy. — **omnis expers curae:** so far as we know, the historian did not hold any public office.

6. condendamve: *or before its founding was contemplated.*

7. ea: = *talis*. — **potissimum ferat:** *names in preference* to all others.

8. utcumque: that is, whether true or false. — **haud . . . discrimine:** upon this point I shall not lay great stress.

9. mihi: ethical dat. showing the personal interest of the writer. It is about equivalent to *I hope* or *please*. — **labente . . . disciplina:** *as strictness of moral training gradually gave way*. The figure is taken from a building gradually falling into ruin, the various stages being marked by the words *primo, deinde, tum, donec*. — **haec tempora:** as above, *haec* refers to the time of the writer.

10. Hoc: explained by *omnis te . . . intueri* below. The advice is given that the reader observe instances of every kind of conduct as exemplified by conspicuous historical characters. — **imitere, capias, vites:** the indefinite second person; *capias* is to be taken with *imitere* in a different sense from what it is used with *vites*. With the first it means *choose*, with the second it means *learn*. This figure of syntax, by which one verb is made to stand for two, is called zeugma.

11. maior: that is, than Rome. — **civitatem:** attracted into the rel. clause. — **serae:** pl. because limiting the two nouns following. — **rerum:** in the sense of *wealth*.

12. initio, ordiendae: pleonastic.

13. nobis: writers of history. — **tantum operis:** the obj. of *orsis* (sc. *nobis*).

BOOK I

The Founding of Rome and the Rule of the Kings (traditionally 1184–509 B.C.)

Parallel Reading:[1] On the legends and early history, Niebuhr, *History*, I. 179–519, *Lectures*, I. 1–109; Mommsen, I. especially 3–71 and 124–142; Duruy, I. 1–151; Lewis, I. 248–546; Shuckburgh, 1–60; How and Leigh, 1–47; Pelham, 3–41; Morey, 14–45; Botsford, 1–37; Ihne, 1–60; Seeley, 11–54; Pais, especially 1–14 and 43–59; other references are given in the notes.

On the constitutional antiquities, Abbott, 1–23; Greenidge, especially 42–77; Granrud, 1–26; Taylor, 1–36; Mommsen, I. 72–123; Ihne, 104–116; Seeley, 54–98.

On the monumental remains of an early period, Platner, especially 32–39, 127–131, 233–240; Hülsen, 2–8, 40, 80, 103–110, 119–123, 132–134, 139–142, 206, 207, 210–219, 238–240; Pais, 15–42; Lanciani, *Ruins*, see Index, 611, 612, *New Tales*, 1–39.

Page 1, Chapter 1.

After the capture of Troy Aeneas and Antenor, with their followers, find their way by different routes to different destinations in Italy. Aeneas disembarks in the land of the Laurentes and is hospitably received by the king, Latinus, who gives the Trojan hero the hand of his daughter Lavinia in marriage.

1. Iam primum omnium: *Well, first of all.* — **satis constat:** that is, the following account (as far as *tenuisse*, § 4) is generally accepted. — **Troia capta:** abl. abs. It expresses what relation? — **saevitum esse:** the verb is impersonal and passive. Do not translate literally. — **duobus:** *in the case of two*, a dat. of reference. — **hospitii:** *guest friendship.* In order to understand the relation expressed by this word, read the article *Hospitium* in a classical dictionary. See Introduction, p. xxiii. — **ius belli:** in his reply to Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* I. 36), Ariovistus defines the *ius belli* thus: *ius esse belli, ut, qui vicissent, eis, quos vicissent, quem ad modum vellent, imperarent.* What two reasons are given for *omne ius*

[1] Only the names of authors are given here. The titles of their works will be found in the Introduction, pp. xxi–xxiii.

belli Achivos abstinuisse? The infinitives which follow are dependent upon *satis constat* (l. 1), and the translation may be made to suggest this dependence by introducing each sentence with the word *that*.

2. deinde: *then* (= *after that*). — **Antenorem**: according to tradition this Trojan hero founded Patavium, the city where Livy was born. For this reason our author doubtless found the story especially attractive. — **Enetum**: gen. pl. in *-um* (= *Enetorum*). — **Paphlagonia**, a district in the northern part of Asia Minor. — **ad Troiam**: how does this differ in meaning from *Troiae?*

3. Euganeis: use the map (Frontispiece) to locate the peoples and towns in Italy which are mentioned in the text. — **Et**: emphatic, *and in fact*. — **locum**: attracted to the case of the rel. pronoun. We might have had *locus, in quem egressi sunt, Troia vocatur*. — **Troiano**: takes its form from *pago*. Trans. as a pred. adj. — **Veneti**: what modern survival is there of this name? — **appellati**: agrees with the collective noun *gens*, in the construction according to sense; *sunt* is omitted. See Introduction, p. xiv.

4. Aeneam . . . tenuisse: these concise sentences present in a summary manner the subject-matter of the first six books of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The remainder of this chapter and the following summarize briefly the events of the last six books of the *Aeneid*. — **simili**: compared with whom? — **maiora**: grammatically with *initia* but logically with *rerum*. — **classe**: expresses the means of *tenuisse*. — **tenuisse**: sc. *cursum*.

5. et: does not mean "and." — **Troiani**: subject of *agerent*. — **quibus superesset**; rel. clause expressing cause. Such clauses in Livy are often strengthened by *ut* as here, or by *quippe* as on p. 10. § 1. — **immenso**: determine the meaning from the derivation. — **agerent**: what does this word show with reference to the kind of *praeda?* — **Latinus**: the name means simply the "man of Latium." The derivation of *Latium* is doubtful. See Introduction, pp. xx, xxi. — **Aborigines**: the real name of this primitive people was not known. — **ad arcendam vim**: *to repel the violence*. — **advenarum**: meaning according to the derivation? — **urbe atque agris**: gives an interesting glimpse of early Latin society, in which each community consisted of (1) a walled town for protection and (2) the outlying districts which provided the means of supporting life.

7. alii: sc. *tradunt*, which influences the sentence structure as far as *data* (§ 10). On the translation see note to § 1. — **cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent**: military practices that were current in the later historical period are here projected into the mythical past.

Page 2. — qui mortales: *what manner of men.* Four questions are asked (1) *qui mortales essent*, (2) *unde*, (3) *aut quo casu profecti domo*, (4) *quidve quaerentes*. The answer to the first is *multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam, filium Anchisae et Veneris*, to the second and third, *cremata patria domo profugos*, to the fourth, *sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere.*

8. et (preceding *nobilitatem*): connects the participles *percunctatum* (§ 7) and *admiratum;* these participles limit the supplied subject of *sanxisse* (below), namely, *Latinum.* — **nobilitatem**: *fame.* — **gentis**, the Trojans. — **viri**: the *hero*, Aeneas. — **et** (preceding *animum*): connects *nobilitatem* and *animum.* — **vel bello vel paci paratum**: Aeneas was ready either to fight or to make peace. — **dextra data**: the pledge of good faith then as now.

9. foedus ictum: according to Roman ritual a victim was slain (*icere*) on the occasion of making a treaty; we still use the expression, "to strike a treaty." Livy freely omits *esse* in the perf. pass. and fut. inf. Cf. *factam* below. — **apud**: with *Latinum, at the court of ;* with *deos, in the presence of.* — **penates deos**: *the household gods;* originally the divinities who protected the stores or provisions (*penus, provisions*), later closely connected with the worship of the Lares, who presided over the interests of the household. Many shrines of the household gods have been discovered at Pompeii (read Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, 2nd ed., pp. 268–273). — **publico**: sc. *foederi.*

10. Troianis: do not translate, "for" *the Trojans.* The dative of reference is sometimes used in Latin where in English we should employ the possessive case. — **erroris**: depends upon *spem.*

11. Lavinium, the daughter of Latinus was named Lavinia. — **stirpis**: an older form of the nom. sing., for *stirps.*

The latter part of this chapter illustrates well the author's abbreviated, almost abrupt, style. The use of the present tense adds greatly to the vividness of the narrative.

Chapter 2.

A fierce struggle ensues between Aeneas and the Latins on one side and on the other Turnus, a rival suitor, who has called the Etruscans to his aid. The latter is defeated, but Aeneas is killed.

1. Bello: in an emphatic position, — *war* ensues. — **petiti**: for the omission of *sunt*, see Introduction, p. xiv. — **Turnus**: on the significance of the name, see Introduction, p. xvii. — **pacta fuerat** = *pacta erat*. — **intulerat**: pluperf. because the act is thought of as completed before the time of the following verbs.

2. victi: sc. *sunt*. — **victores**: contains a concessive idea.

3. rebus: sc. *suis*. The Rutuli were not confident of their own strength. — **Etruscorum**: on the extent of Etruscan influence in early Italy, see Introduction, pp. xvii, xviii.— For **parallel reading** on this interesting people the student is referred to Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 2 vols., London, 1878; Mommsen, I. 150–161; Duruy, I. lviii–lxxxix; Pais, 128–151; article, *Etruria* in Encyclopædia Britannica. — **confugiunt**: *had recourse to*. — **Caere**: an indeclinable noun; here it may be regarded as the dat. case, governed by *imperitans*, or the locative abl. The latter is more probable. — **iam inde ab initio**: *from the very beginning*, a phrase often recurring in Livy. — **origine**: expresses the cause of *laetus*. — **et**: (preceding *tum*), connects *laetus* and *ratus*. — **nimio plus quam satis tutum esset**: *too fast to be quite safe*. What is the literal translation? — **socia**: *in alliance*, a proleptic use. For this figure of syntax, see B.[1] 374. 5; H. 493; H.B. 631. 11.

4. adversus . . . essent: expresses the purpose of *appellavit*. — **adversus**: *in the face of*. — **tanti belli**: *inspired by so great a war*. Distinguish between the subjective and objective genitive. What use of the genitive is *belli*?

Page 3. — 5. his animis: trans. by the singular number. For the case, see B. 218. 3; A. 431, *a*; H. 476. 1; G. 401, N. 6; H.B. 432. — **moenibus bellum propulsare**: *carry on the war successfully from behind the walls*. *Moenibus* is the abl. of means with *propulsare* (lit. *beat off*).

6. Secundum: not the numeral. — **inde proelium**: *the battle*

[1] The following are the Latin Grammars referred to in these Notes: B. (Bennett), A. (Allen and Greenough), H. (Harkness), G. (Gildersleeve and Lodge), H.B. (Hale and Buck).

that followed. — **Secundum . . . Latinis, Aeneae . . . ultimum:** note the chiastic order and reproduce it in the translation. B. 350. 11, *c*; A. 598, *f*; H. 666. 2; G. 682; H.B. 628. — **quemcumque:** *under whatever name.* — **ius fasque:** *right in the sight of man and God.* Examine the Lexicon for the difference in meaning between these two words. — **super:** *on the banks of.* — **Numicum:** a small river in Latium. — **Indigetem:** a *local* or *native* divinity.

Chapter 3.

Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, founds Alba Longa. Peace is declared with the Etruscans. The line of kings preceding Romulus.

1. maturus imperio: *old enough to assume the sovereign rule.* — **ad puberem aetatem:** *until he became of age,* according to Roman usage about the age of 17. — **incolume:** *intact.* — **tantisper:** *i.e.* until he became of age. — **tutela:** *regency.* — **res:** *state.* — **stetit:** *incolume mansit* above.

2. ambigam: *call in question.* — **an maior quam hic,** etc.: this is the tradition followed by Virgil, *Aen.* I. 267, II. 652. 723. — **Creusa:** read again Virgil, *Aen.* II. 735–794. — **Ilio incolumi:** expresses time. — **comesque inde paternae fugae:** *companion of his father in his flight thence.* — **eundem:** *likewise* (*called*). — **Iulia gens . . . nuncupat:** the great Roman families took pleasure in thus tracing their ancestry back to the Trojan heroes.

3. ubicumque . . . genitus: Livy does not commit himself to either tradition. See also below, *matri seu novercae.* — **abundante . . . multitudine:** cause of *reliquit.* — **sub:** *on the slopes of.* — **quae:** what is the antecedent? — **urbis:** depends on *situ.* — **Longa Alba:** the name of the city was Alba Longa, but the order of the words is here reversed in order to call attention to the linear extent of the settlement.

4. Lavinium conditum, etc.: for the translation of the participles *conditum* and *deductam,* see B. 337. 5; A. 497; H. 636. 4; H.B. 608. 2. — **Tantum:** emphatic. — **fusis Etruscis:** expresses time. — **inter:** *during.*

Page 4. — **ausi sint:** independent use of the perf. subj. in a clause of result.

5. ita: *on the following terms.* — **Albula:** sometimes supposed to mean "whitish" (from *albus*), to describe the perpetually muddy appearance of the river, but it may also be connected etymologically with the word *Alpes*, which is of Celtic origin and means "high mountain." The Albula would then be the "mountain stream," in reference to its source. The word *Tiber* is perhaps derived from the same root.

6. casu . . . natus: an aetiological explanation. See Introduction, pp. xx, xxi.

8. cognomen: *i.e.* Silvius. — **Tiberinus, qui . . . dedit:** see note above on **casu . . . natus.** As a matter of fact the process was the reverse one, — Tiberinus was formed from the name Tiberis, not Tiberis from Tiberinus. This long list of names the myth-maker found it necessary to invent, in order to fill in the chronological gap between Aeneas or Ascanius (traditionally the twelfth century B.C.) and Romulus and Remus (traditionally the eighth century B.C.). — **celebre ad:** *current among.*

9. per manus: *by direct succession.* — **Is sepultus . . . fecit:** on the aetiological origin of this story, cf. the note above on *Tiberinus.* — **in eo colle:** the Aventine. See map facing p. 54. — **Proca deinde regnat:** note the short, concise sentences throughout the remainder of this chapter.

10. legat: *bequeaths.* — **verecundia aetatis:** Numitor was older than Amulius. What use of the genitive is this? Neither Proca's wishes nor Numitor's rights were respected.

11. fratris: *i.e. Numitoris.* — **filiae:** *from the daughter.* What case is *filiae?* See B. 188. 2, *d*; A. 381; H. 427; G. 345. R; H.B. 371. — **perpetua virginitate:** the Vestals were not permitted to marry. This early reference to the cult of Vesta, although involved in myth, points to its antiquity. The exact location in Rome of the temple of the goddess of the hearth, together with the house occupied by the Vestals, is well known. These structures lay below the north corner of the Palatine hill, near the eastern border of the Roman Forum. Recent excavations have revealed many interesting details. For a description of these, read Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, pp. 134. fol., and Hülsen, *Roman Forum*, pp. 185–205.

Chapter 4.

Romulus and Remus are born, and by order of the king abandoned on the inundated waters of the Tiber. They are suckled by a she-wolf, and rescued by the shepherd Faustulus, who rears them.

1. debebatur . . . fatis: the Fates directed the destinies of Rome. — **ut opinor**: Livy's personal opinion. — **urbis**, Rome. — **-que**: connects *origo* and *principium*. — **secundum**: *next after*, preposition governing *opes*.

2. Vi compressa: *having yielded to force*. — **seu . . . erat**: two reasons are given for *nuncupat*, one expressed by a participle, the other by a *quia*-clause. — **ita**: *i.e. Martem incertae stirpis patrem*. — **honestior**: *more creditable*. — **incertae**: since the father's name was unknown.

3. in custodiam datur: *thrown into prison*. — **in profluentem aquam**: *into the current of the river*. — **iubet**: sc. *rex*. The asyndeton in this sentence heightens the effect.

4. divinitus: *appointed of heaven*. What part of speech is this word? — **Tiberis**: nom. case. — **lenibus stagnis**: *standing pools*. — **nec . . . et**: correlative = *et non . . . et*.

Page 5. — **iusti amnis**: *of the river proper*. — **quamvis languida**: *no matter how still*. — **infantes**: subject of *posse;* the same word is to be supplied as obj. of *ferentibus*. — **spem**: obj. of *dabat*.

5. velut . . . imperio: they conscientiously believed they had performed their duty. — **proxima**: *edge of*. — **ficus Ruminalis**: according to Ovid this venerable tree had disappeared by Livy's time, although its former site, near the western corner of the Palatine, was perfectly well known. Rumina was an early Italian goddess of suckling. It was natural, therefore, that the myth should place beneath this tree the scene of the suckling of the twins by the wolf.

6. Vastae: *waste*, the etymological derivative in English. — **Tenet**: *is current*. The emphatic position of the word implies that Livy did not vouch for the correctness of the account. He well understood that these stories could not be accepted as sources of real history. — **fluitantem**: *drifting*. — **alveum**: the boat-shaped receptacle in which the children had been placed. — **tenuis**: *receding*. — **lupam**: in later times (295 B.C.), a bronze group of

the wolf suckling the twins was erected beneath either this *ficus Ruminalis* of the Palatine, or another, often called by the same name, in the Comitium. Such a group (though the figures of the twins are modern) is still to be seen in Rome in the Palace of the Conservatori. — **ad puerilem vagitum**: *attracted by the crying of the children.* — **mitem**: with adverbial force. — **praebuisse mammas**: *furnished nourishment.* — **Faustulo**: apposition with *ei* (dat. of possession) to be supplied. On the significance of this name, see Introduction, p. xxi.

7. ad stabula: the preposition suggests motion, making it necessary to supply in thought another verbal idea, (*carried*) *to the sheepfolds.* — **educandos**: does not mean "educated." — **Larentiae**: described in the legend as the wife of Faustulus, but she was probably an early Italic divinity of the fields and of the country. Sometimes Larentia is called the mother of the Lares. Read Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, pp. 60–95. — **fabulae ac miraculo**: *for the wonderful story.* The figure of speech is called hendiadys. B. 374. 4; A. 640; H. 751. 3, N. 1; G. 698; H.B. 631. 5.

8. nec . . . segnes: as they grew older Romulus and Remus assisted their foster father in the care of the flocks. — **peragrare**: the historical inf. which to the Roman ear made the narration more vivid. Cf. *subsistere, facere, dividere,* and *celebrare* below. —

9. Hinc: *i.e. venando.* — **seria ac iocos**: *pastimes grave and gay.*

Chapter 5.

Romulus and Remus are recognized as the grandchildren of Numitor. They attack and slay the usurping king Amulius.

1. Iam: *even.* — **Palatio, Lupercal, Euandrum, Lycaeum Pana**: see Introduction, pp. xx, xxi. — **hoc**: *the present* (*i.e.* in the time of Livy). This pronoun is often used to describe an object or custom existing at the time of the writer. On the festival of the Lupercalia, see Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 310–321. — **a Pallanteo**: one of many amusing instances of popular etymology current in antiquity. As a matter of fact Palatium is probably connected with the word *Pales* (from the root *pa*, as seen in *pasco, to feed*), the name of an old Italian deity of shepherds.

2. ex eo genere Arcadum: *i.e.* of Pallantium. — **tempestatibus**:

seasons. — **sollemne**: here a substantive. Examine the Lexicon for the derivation. — **adlatum**: *imported.* — **ut . . . currerent**: a substantive clause in apposition with *sollemne*, and explaining it. — **Pana**: Greek acc. B. 47. 1; A. 82; H. 110; G. 65; H.B. 95. — **per lusum atque lasciviam**: *in a sportive and wanton manner.*

3. Huic deditis ludicro: the attention of Romulus and Remus and their companions was directed to the spectacle. *deditis* is to be taken with *insidiatos.* — **praedae amissae**: a subjective gen. (embracing the idea expressed by the two words). Make it clear by the translation. — **cum**: concessive. — **cepisse, . . . tradidisse**; why is the inf. used?

Page 6. — **ultro**: lit. *beyond* what you would expect, *i.e. shamelessly.* The meaning of *ultro* varies with the context.

4. Crimini . . . dabant: do not trans. lit. See B. 191; A. 382; H. 425. 3; H.B. 360. The charge was *in Numitoris agros ab iis impetus fieri.* — **impetus**: will "attack" trans. this word? What meaning does the context require? — **inde**: *i.e. ex agris,* with *agere.* — **praedas agere**: cf. note to p. 1, § 5.

5. Iam inde ab initio: see note to Chap. 2, § 3. — **ad id ipsum**: the event mentioned before, *expositos infantes.* — **immaturam**: *prematurely.* — **nisi . . . necessitatem**: *unless either opportunity (offered) or necessity (required).*

6. et: *also* as well as Faustulus. — **Numitori**: has the force in translation of *Numitoris* with *animum* (below). B. 188. 1, Note; A. 377; H. 425, N.; G. 350. 1; H.B. 368. Much time should be spent by the student on the translation of this and similar long sentences in order to secure a smooth and idiomatically English rendering. — **indolem**: *bearing.* — **sciscitando**: repeated questioning. — **eodem**: the same as Faustulus. — **ut . . . agnosceret**: *i.e.* he soon recognized Remus. The subject of *esset* is the clause *quin . . . agnosceret.*

7. venire: with *iussis.* — **ad regem**: an unusual expression for *in regem.*

Chapter 6.

Numitor is restored to his throne. Romulus and Remus desire to found a city in the place where they had been abandoned. They consult the gods by augury with reference to the undertaking.

1. Numitor . . . ostendit: a good example of a Latin periodic sentence. B. 351. 5; A. 600. 601; H. 685; G. 685–687; H.B. 630. Great care should be used in rendering this long sentence in English. Avoid Latin idioms and word-order, and express ideas in what seems to be the natural way in English. Where the Latin language employs one principal sentence with many subordinate clauses, in English several coördinate sentences should often be used. A translation should be so made that no one, on hearing or reading it, would ever suspect that it was a translation. This is a good test of a successful translation from any foreign language. — **inter primum**: *during the first of.* — **dictitans**: how does this word differ in meaning from *dicens?* — **pubem**: = *milites*, who were *young men.* — **in arcem . . . obtinendam**: an abbreviated expression, characteristic of Livy, for *in arcem ad eam praesidio armisque obtinendam.* The *a-* in *avocasset* suggests that the soldiers were summoned *a regia.* This would leave the way clear for Romulus and Remus. — **praesidio armisque**: see note to *fabulae ac miraculo*, p. 5, § 7. — **gratulantes**: with *iuvenes.* — **originem**: *parentage.* — **ut . . . essent**: an indirect question. What is the force of the repetition of *ut?* — **deinceps**: adverbial, *next* in order.

2. contionem: the *concilium* mentioned above. — **agmine**: *i.e.* not in a disorderly manner. — **ratum . . . efficit**: *confirmed.* What is the lit. trans.?

Page 7. — **3. urbis**: dependent upon *cupido.* — **et**: see note to *et*, p. 1, § 3. — **supererat**: *was in excess.* — **id**: the excess of population from Alba Longa. — **accesserant**: *were added.* Note the development of meaning, (1) *advance toward* (*ad* and *cedo*), (2) *approach to*, (3) *to become a part of*, (4) *to be added to.* — **qui . . . facerent**: why subj.? B. 284. 2; A. 537. 2; H. 589. II; G. 631; H.B. 521. Do not trans. *qui* by *who.* — **prae**: *in comparison with.* — **urbe quae conderetur**: about equivalent to *urbe condenda.*

4. cogitationibus: the *plan* of founding a new city. — **avitum**: the trans. suggested by the derivation is the correct one. — **inde**: i.e. *regni cupido.* — **aetatis**: objective genitive. — **ut dii . . . legerent**: expresses the purpose of *capiunt* (below). — **tutelae**: gen. case, but render *under whose protection.* — **auguriis**: primitive man had an honest desire to learn the will of the Deity. This information was obtained by the Roman, according to certain

rules of procedure, from the flight of birds, the phenomena of the heavens, and in various other ways. Read the article, *Augur*, in a dictionary of antiquities. — **conditam**: expresses time. — **Palatium . . . Aventinum, templa**: two objects of *capiunt*.

Chapter 7.

Romulus slays Remus in a quarrel, and founds the new city. There is related the legend of Hercules, who stopped at the future site of Rome on his return from the realm of Geryon. On that occasion he killed Cacus, and was recognized and cordially received by Euander. The cult of the deified hero is established in Italy. —

1. sex vultures: explaining *augurium*. — **nuntiato augurio**: expresses time prior to *ostendisset*. — **utrumque . . . consalutaverat**: in sentences of this type, in which the reflexive pronoun refers to *uterque* or *quisque* in an oblique case, better English is secured by trans. in the pass. voice. *Utrumque* and *regem* are the two objects of the verb. — **tempore praecepto**: *by priority of time*. — **illi . . . hi**: the parties of Remus and of Romulus respectively. — **trahebant**: *claimed*.

2. Inde, etc.: first they engaged in a strife of words, then they came to blows. — **in turba**: Remus was not killed by the hand of Romulus. — **Vulgatior**, etc.: this is undoubtedly another aetiological myth, invented to account for the sacredness of city walls. See Introduction, p. xx. — **novos muros**: the wall of the newly founded city. — **ab irato Romulo**: with *interfectum*. — **sic**: some such word as *pereat* is to be supplied.

3. potitus . . . appellata: sc. *est*. — **conditoris nomine**: the legend said that the city Roma was named from its founder Romulus. It was in reality the other way, — Romulus was the "man of Rome." The derivation of Roma is disputed. It has been suggested that the word may be derived from an ancient name for the Tiber, which name was in turn connected with the root seen in the Greek, *ῥέω*, *flow*, and that therefore Roma means the "river-city." — **muniit**: existing remains in Rome suggest that the development of the city began with the Palatine settlement. Masses of tufa walls, which however cannot be identified with any certainty, are still to be seen near the west corner of the hill. In this vicinity, too, are remains of a boundary wall, but none of these

structures are as early even as the period of the kings. The boundary wall perhaps does not antedate the fourth century B.C. The Palatine Hill has never been exhaustively excavated. See Introduction, p. xix. — **diis . . . Herculi**: a striking illustration of the chiastic order. See note to *secundum . . . ultimum*, p. 3, § 6. — **Albano ritu**: the native Italic ritual, as distinguished from the foreign Greek rites. — **Herculi**: the worship of Hercules was probably imported into Italy from Greece, although the conception of the god was modified by contact with local Italian cults. The Roman Hercules seems to have been even regarded as a patron of agriculture. — **Euandro**: in the legend this mythical hero, who came from Arcadia, is conveniently made the means of introducing the worship of Hercules from Greece.

4. Geryone interempto: the tenth labor of Hercules was to kill the three-bodied giant, Geryon, king of Erythraea, and to drive his herd of red cattle to Mycenae. — **qua** and **loco herbido**: these words locate the place of *procubuisse*. — **procubuisse**: two reasons are given for this, (1) *ut . . . boves*, (2) *et* (*also*) *ipsum fessum via*. **laeto**: with *pabulo*, a poetical turn characteristic of Livy.

5. Ibi cum . . . traxit: care should be taken to use idiomatic English in trans. this sentence. Read the note to *Numitor . . . ostendit*, p. 6, § 1.

Page 8. — **accola**: apposition with *pastor*. — **Cacus**: this contest between Hercules, the strong hero, and Cacus, son of Vulcan, may typify the forces of nature in a period of prehistoric volcanic activity. There are many traces of the volcanic origin of the site of Rome, of the Campagna, and of the surrounding district. Read again the story in Virgil, *Aen.* VII. 193–267. — **agendo**: *by driving them* (*forward*). — **speluncam**: where Cacus lived. — **eo** = *ad speluncam*. — **aversos boves traxit**: Cacus *dragged the cattle backward*.

6. perlustrasset oculis: he examined the herd with great care. — **si forte . . . ferrent**: an indirect question, (*to see*) *if perchance*, etc. — **animi**: has the force of a locative case, *in mind*. — **occepit**: in meaning equivalent to *accepit*.

7. Inde: = *ex eo loco* with *actae*. — **relictarum**: sc. *boum*, with *desiderium*. — **reddita . . . boum**: an abbreviated expression for *reddita ex spelunca inclusarum in ea boum*. See Introduction,

p. xiv. — **reddita vox**: *the answering low.* — **morte occubuit**: a poetical touch, like *ad primam auroram* above.

8. ea: with *loca.* — **auctoritate**: *personal influence.* — **imperio**: *rightful authority.* — **miraculo litterarum**: *because of his wonderful knowledge of letters.* — **rei**: apposition with *litterarum.* — **artium**: for the use of the gen., see B. 204. 1; A. 349, *a*; H. 451; G. 374; H.B. 354. — **Carmentae**: predicate gen. with *esse* supplied which is dependent on *credita.* The word is connected etymologically with *canere, to prophesy,* since prophetic utterances were commonly given in verse. — **fatiloquam**: what is the derivation? — **Sibyllae**: the Cumaean Sibyl. — **miratae fuerant** = *miratae erant.*

9. tum: when Hercules killed Cacus. — **advenam**: Hercules. — **manifestae**: the slayer was caught in the act. — **excitus**: *his attention attracted.* Do not translate by *aroused.* — **habitum**: *dress.* The story teller was thinking of the lion's skin which Hercules is represented in art as wearing. The great stature, the club (*clava*) mentioned above, and the lion's skin are tokens of the hero. — **formam**: *figure.* — **humana**: sc. *forma.*

10. aucturum caelestium numerum: *i.e.* would be made a god. — **aram**: the *ara maxima Herculis,* dedicated according to this legend by Hercules himself, was situated in what was later the Forum Boarium just west of the west angle of the Palatine hill. No trace of the altar is now visible, but offerings were made upon it as late as the fourth century of our era. See Fowler, *Roman Festivals,* 193–197.

Page 9. — **gens**: the Romans. — **tuo**: *established by you.*

12. ad ministerium dapemque: *i.e.* to serve as attendants and to take part in the feast. — **Potitiis, Pinariis**: the names of two ancient Roman families, which myth represented as having a prominent part in the cult of Hercules. On the meaning of the name Pinarii see the following note.

13. Forte ita evenit . . . vescerentur: it has been suggested that this legend may have arisen in explanation of the name Pinarii, as if it were connected with the Greek πεινάω, *to suffer hunger, to fast.* — **exta**: the *vital organs* of the victim sacrificed. These were regarded as the choicest parts.

14. per multas aetates: until 312 B.C. In Book IX, 29 Livy

says again that, in consequence of their transferring this sacred office to public slaves, all the members of the family of the Potitii died within a year. It is interesting to note that while the nomen Pinarius occurs often in Roman inscriptions, the nomen Potitius is almost never found.

15. Haec . . . sacra . . . una . . . peregrina: belong together.

Chapter 8.

Romulus establishes laws, and increases the dignity of his office. The city expands. An advisory body is created consisting of one hundred heads of families.

1. rite: according to ritual. — **legibus** and **iura:** are used synonymously, although strictly *ius* was the principle of right, while *lex* was the statute.

2. ita: correlative with *si.* — **sancta:** *binding on.* — **lictoribus:** read the article *Lictor* in a dictionary of antiquities.

3. eum: Romulus. — **numerum:** twelve, the number of the lictors. — **quibus . . . placet** = *qui putant.* — **apparitores:** *attendants,* the formal name. — **hoc genus:** for the use and trans. see B. 185. 1; A. 397, *a*; H. 416. 3; G. 336. N. 2; H.B. 388. *b.* — **sella curulis:** the official seat of curule magistrates, namely, the consul, praetor, curule aedile, and dictator. — **toga praetexta:** the distinctive dress of curule magistrates. It differed from the ordinary toga only in having a purple stripe woven in the border of the garment. The Romans were indebted to the Etruscans for many rites and ceremonials. Read the articles *Sella Curulis* and *Toga Praetexta* in a dictionary of antiquities. — **quod ex duodecim populis,** etc.: referring to the Etruscan confederation of twelve cities. Perhaps twelve was a sacred number with the Etruscans.

4. munitionibus: this word as well as *munirent* (below) seems to refer to the building of houses and other structures rather than means of fortification. — **adpetendo:** *by annexing.*

Page 10. — ad id . . . erat: the population already existing.

5. vana: *for naught.* — **condentium urbes:** *e.g.* Cadmus in Greek mythology. — **ementiebantur:** *said falsely.* — **qui nunc saeptus . . . est:** in the depression on the Capitoline hill, between the elevations on the northern and southern ends. On these elevations were groves of trees. See map opposite p. 54, and

note to *Capitolium*, p. 12, § 5. — **asylum**: this word is the Latinized form of the Greek ἄσυλον, which means "a place of security." For the location of the asylum, see the note to *Capitolium* just referred to.

6. roboris: partitive gen. with *primum*. *This was the first element of strength looking toward the projected greatness of the city.* **Cum . . . paeniteret**: *i.e.* when Romulus was fairly well satisfied with the strength of his people resulting from the increase in population. — **viribus**: *to direct this strength.* What case?

7. Patres: the heads of families or *gentes*. — **ab honore**: = *honoris causa*. — **patriciique progenies eorum appellati**: the word *patricius* is undoubtedly derived from the word *patres*, but the first patricians were probably the members of the ancient clans, the original citizens in fact. Of these the *patres*, or heads of families, constituted the senate.

Chapter 9.

There is a great lack of women in the new community. Overtures to establish the right of marriage with neighboring states being rejected, the Romans conceal their chagrin and invite the neighboring peoples to a festival at Rome. During the festival they suddenly seize and carry off the young women.

1. aetatem: for the construction, see B. 181. 1; A. 423. 2; H. 417; G. 336; H.B. 387. II. — **quippe quibus**, etc.: *because of course*, etc. See note to *quibus superesset*, p. 1, § 5. — **connubia**: the right of contracting lawful marriages.

2. patrum: *patres* here and often = *senatores*. — **legatos**: *representatives*. — **qui . . . peterent**: do not trans. "who should seek." — **societatem**: the *ius connubii* would not exist between two states unless it was agreed to by both. — **novo populo**: *i.e. Romanis*.

3. urbes . . . miscere: the message to the neighboring states. Indicate this by the translation. See note at the end of p. 1, § 1. — **quas**: has for its antecedent *urbes*, supplied, which is the subject of *facere*. To secure better English in translating express the rel. clause in the pass. voice.

4. scire: sc. *se* (the *legati*). — **deos adfuisse**: for instance, in showing by signs who should rule the new city (Chap. 7, beginning). — **ne gravarentur**: in direct discourse *ne graventur* would be used.

5. simul . . . simul: *both . . . and at the same time.* — **rogitantibus**: the question was repeated tauntingly. — **ecquod**: *any*, an indef. interrogative adj. with *asylum*. — **demum**: *only*.

6. Aegre id passa: *angry at this.* — **pubes**: see note to *pubem*, p. 6, § 1. — **haud dubie . . . coepit**: it clearly looked as if the Romans would resort to violence.

Page 11. — **Cui**: antecedent is *vim*. — **Neptuno equestri**: according to Greek legend the horse was created by Neptune. — **Consualia**: the festival of Consus, an old Italic deity, was held on Aug. 21 and Dec. 15. On one of these days there were horse races in the Circus Maximus. This feature of the worship of Consus may have suggested the identification of this god with Neptunus Equester. See Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 206–209.

7. Indici: the games are *advertised* among the neighboring states.

8. etiam: they wanted to see the city *also* as well as view the games. — **quique**: plural, because there were several from each of the states mentioned. — **Caeninenses**, etc.: the chief towns of these peoples were respectively Caenina, Crustumerium, and Antemnae. The location of the first is unknown, the last was north of Rome at the junction of the Anio and Tiber, while Crustumerium was several miles farther northeast. See the map facing p. 2.

9. iam: *soon*.

10. eo: to the games. — **mentes cum oculis**: their attention and their gaze. — **discurrit**: they ran here and there in different directions.

11. in quem: sc. *ab eo Romano*, as the antecedent. Each Roman seized the first maiden he came to. — **raptae**: with *pars* in the construction according to sense. **ex plebe**: equivalent to an adj., *of plebeian rank*, with *homines*, which is the subject of *deferebant*.

12. sciscitantibus . . . identidem clamitatum: repeated question and answer. — **cuinam**: *-nam* shows the great interest in the answer, *for whom, pray?* — **violaret**: sc. *eam* (*virginem*). — **inde . . . factam**: *that this is the origin of the present* (*hanc*) *nuptial cry*. In Livy's own time, as the wedding procession moved along to the house of the bridegroom, the guests and by-

standers cried out, "Talassio, Talassio!" For the origin of the practice see Introduction, p. xx. Many suggestions have been made to explain the derivation of this word *Talassio*, but none is satisfactory.

13. violati: logically with *foedus*. — **per**: *contrary to;* cf. the meaning of *per* in the compound *perfidus*.

14. de se: the reflexive refers to the logical subject, *raptis*. — **illas . . . fore**; Romulus assured the indignant Sabines that their daughters would have a legal honorable marriage, that they would share in the rights of citizenship, and their children, honorably born, would possess legal rights. — **liberum**: the genitive plural in *-um* (= *liberorum*).

Page 12. — 15. melioribus usuras viris: *they would find their husbands better*, i.e. *kinder*. *Melioribus* is predicate. — **pro se**: *his best*. — **suam vicem**: *i.e.* as husband. The expression is adverbial. — **etiam**: as well as perform the duties of husband.

16. Accedebant: on the meaning see note to *accesserant*, p. 7, § 3. — **factum** (*esse*): the seizing of the women. The inf. depends upon the idea of *saying by way of excuse* contained in *purgantium*. — **preces**: attracted into the rel. clause, but in apposition with the clause *factum . . . amore*.

This story of the seizure of the Sabine women seems to be another illustration of the aetiological instinct which sought to explain one of the features of a Roman wedding, namely, the taking of the bride by force from her mother's arms. See Introduction, p. xx.

Chapter 10.

The fathers of the stolen maidens stir up war against Rome. The Caeninenses are defeated and the victorious Romulus dedicates the chief spoil to Jupiter Feretrius upon the Capitoline hill.

1. raptis: trans. as if *raptarum*, but see note to *Numitori*, p. 6, § 6. — **tum**: when the daughters were becoming somewhat reconciled. — **sordida veste**: a mark of mourning.

2. eius iniuriae pars: some of the young women of these peoples also had been seized by the Romans.

3. pro: *to suit.* — **per se ipsum**: *i.e.* independently. — **nomen Caeninum**: a variation for *Caeninenses*. — **impetum**: *raid.*

4. effuse: their raids were unorganized and without system. — **sine viribus**: *unbacked by physical strength.* — **fundit**: *scatters.* What is the literal translation? — **fusum**: trans. by a temporal clause in English. — **spoliat**: he takes the king's armor as trophy. — **urbem**: the chief town of the Caeninenses.

5. cum . . . minor: he boasted of his achievements, but he had good reason to do so. — **ferculo**: with *suspensa.* — **Capitolium**: the Capitoline hill, a short distance north of the Palatine hill (see map facing p. 54), was elongated in shape, stretching from north to south. On both ends were elevations, which in later times were occupied by important temples, and in the center was a depression, which was the site, it is supposed, of the *asylum* (p. 10, § 5), established by Romulus. — **cognomen**: *Feretrius*, mentioned in the next line.

Page 13. — 6. Iuppiter Feretri: probably the great Jupiter of pre-Etruscan Rome, but the meaning of Feretrius is not clear. — **rex regia**: an intentional juxtaposition. — **templum, sedem**: the two objects of *dedico.* — **sedem**: *place of deposit.* — **opimis spoliis**: by this name were known the spoils of war taken by a Roman king or general from the enemy's king or general. — **me auctorem**: *my precedent.* This was apparently conceived as the first instance of a Roman triumphal procession.

7. omnium: sc. *templorum.* — **diis visum** (*est*): a decree of the gods, with reference to two things, *nec . . . nec . . .* — **irritam**: *in vain.* — **vocem**: *words.* — **qua**: sc. *voce.* — **nec . . . laudem**: it was a rare honor to be able to present such a gift. — **doni**: intended by its position to be taken with both *compotum* and *laudem.* — **vulgari**: *cheapened.* — **Bina**: won by A. Cornelius Cossus, consul in 428 B.C., and by M. Claudius Marcellus in 222 B.C. — **inter**: with both *annos* and *bella.*

Chapter 11.

The armies of the Antemnates and Crustumini are defeated. Last of all the Sabines advance against Rome. The fate of Tarpeia, who admitted them into the arx, is related.

1. ibi: *in Capitolio.* — **per occasionem ac solitudinem**: *taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the absence of the enemy* (*from the country*). See note to *fabulae ac miraculo*, p. 5, § 7. — **et**:

also as well as against the Caeninenses. — **legio**: not "legion" in the later military sense, but rather *levy*, i.e. *army*. — **palatos in agris**: as did the Caeninenses *effuse vastantes* (cf. p. 12, § 4).

2. clamore: *the war shout*. — **oppidum**: Antemnae. Notice the omission of the auxiliary *sum* in this and the preceding sentence. — **duplicique victoria**: over the Caeninenses and Antemnates. — **rem**: *state*, that is, the people composing it.

3. alienis: *of the others*. — **animi**: *spirits, courage*.

4. Utroque: *to both places*, most naturally Antemnae and Crustumerium. — **in Crustuminum**: sc. *agrum*. — **Et**: see note to *Et*, p. 1, § 3. — **inde**: from Crustumerium.

5. Novissimum: the mythmaker found it necessary to eliminate the three peoples above mentioned from the situation before the Romans and Sabines clash.

6. arci: the arx or stronghold was on the north elevation of the Capitoline hill. — **Tatius**: *rex Sabinorum*. — **accipiat**: *allow to come in*.

Page 14. — **ea**: *filia Tarpei*. — **moenia**: the arx was surrounded with a strong wall of fortification.

7. obrutam: sc. *eam* (=*filiam*). — **usquam**: refers always to place.

8. eam: the girl. — **eo**: *for this reason*. — **illi** (=*filiae*): dative with the compounded verb.

9. ex: *in accordance with*. — **derecto arma petisse**: *she asked outright for the shields*. — **sua . . . mercede**: *by the very reward she asked for*. — **peremptam**: sc. *esse*. The myth about Tarpeia was an old one, and we see in Livy an attempt to reconcile different versions of the story that were current before his time. The legend of the betrayal originated perhaps in an attempt to explain the practice of hurling traitors down the *saxum Tarpeium*. A detailed study of the development of this myth will be found in *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, Vol. I. pp. 1–47. The legend of Tarpeia has survived in a modified form even till modern times. See also Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, pp. 96–127.

Chapter 12.

The Romans and Sabines fight in the Forum valley. The former are driven back toward the Palatine. Romulus vows a temple

to Jupiter Stator and the flight of the Romans is stayed. The story of Mettius Curtius.

1. tamen: no matter which of the above accounts is the correct one, the Sabines were masters of the arx. Notice the emphatic position of *Tenuere*. — **cum**: concessive. — **campi**: partitive gen. — **subiere**: *advanced up the hill* (*sub-*).

2. ab Sabinis: *on the side of*. Cf. such an expression as *a dextra, on the right*. — **Hic**: *the latter*. B. 246. 1; A. 297. *a*; H. 506. 1; G. 307, REM. 1. *a*; H.B. 274. 2. — **iniquo loco**: cf. note on *subiere* above.

3. inclinatur: *wavered*. What is the derivation? — **fusaque est**: *driven in confusion*. — **portam**: the Romans were driven across the valley, which was afterward occupied by the Roman Forum, to a gate of their own settlement on the Palatine. This gate, we may suppose, was the Porta Mugonia, about the middle of the northeastern side of the hill.

4. et: as well as his army. — **tollens**: this happened close by the entrance to the Porta Mugonia. — **ieci**: *laid*.

5. arce: imperative. — **Romanis**: same use of the dat. case as of *filiae*, p. 4, § 11.

6. Statori Iovi: *Jupiter, the stayer of flight*. The epithet Stator is placed first to make it emphatic. The remains of the temple of Jupiter Stator have been identified in the space which lies between the arch of Titus and the Palatine hill. See Hülsen, *The Roman Forum*, pp. 238–240. — **quod . . . sit**: expresses purpose. — **praesenti**: that Jupiter was actually present to bring aid.

7. hinc: with *resistere* and *iterare*.

Page 15. — **Restitere**: in an emphatic position.

8. ab Sabinis: see note to *ab Sabinis*, p. 14, § 2. — **decucurrerat**: pluperf. because prior to the events described in the preceding sections. — **hospites . . . hostes**: the similarity of form with the dissimilarity of meaning heightens the contrast. Cf. in the next line, *virgines . . . viris*. — **aliud**: predicate adj.

9. iuvenum: see note to *pubem*, p. 6, § 1. — **eo**: *i.e. quod ex equo pugnabat*. — **alia Romana acies**: *the rest of the Roman line* besides the *globus ferocissimorum iuvenum* mentioned above.

10. paludem: this is a story invented in later times to explain the name of the "pool of Curtius," the *lacus Curtius* (p. 16, § 5),

which existed in the Forum far into the historical period. The spot was invested with a peculiar sanctity, and on certain occasions offerings were made here. For another account and a brief description of the results of recent excavations, see the note to *donaque ac fruges*, p. 173, § 5. — **strepitu**: the cause of *trepidante*. — **ea res**: the plight of their leader. — **in media convalle duorum montium**: the fight is renewed in the valley between the two hills. — **res . . . superior**: *the Roman side was stronger.*

Chapter 13.

The Sabine women intervene and effect a peace. The two sections are united in one. The people are divided into thirty curiae, and three centuries of equites are enrolled.

1. quarum: determine if this is a subjective or objective gen., and make it clear by the translation. — **ex transverso impetu facto**: the women rushed in between the fighting lines.

2. dirimere: hist. inf., as shown by the nom. case of the subject, *mulieres* (above). The repetition of the inf. is a rhetorical device which adds liveliness to the narration. — **iras**: poetical for *iratos*. — **hinc . . . hinc**: *on this side . . . on that.* — **nefando**: *unspeakable*, because blood was shed by those so closely related as *socer* and *gener*. This is further characterized (below) as *parricidium* (derivation?). — **suos**: refers to *Sabinae mulieres* (§ 1). — **nepotum, liberum**: appositional gen. — **illi, hi**: *their fathers, their husbands.* — **liberum**: see note to *liberum*, p. 11, § 14.

3. melius peribimus: *better that we perish.* — **alteris**: signifies, as ordinarily, *one of the two parties*. If the women lost their fathers, they would be *orbae;* if their husbands, they would be *viduae*. The description of this scene is a good illustration of the vivid word-painting by our author.

4. fit: *ensue.* — **repentina**: trans. as if an adverb.

Page 16. — **consociant**: *associate.*

5. aliquid daretur: *some concession might be made.* — **Quirites a Curibus appellati**: another instance of popular etymology which is probably incorrect. Scholars are not at present agreed as to the correct derivation of *Quirites*. Cures was the principal city of the Sabines. — **Curtium lacum**: see note above on *paludem*.

6. repente: to be taken closely with *ex bello*. There is a sudden

change from dire war to happy peace. — **curias triginta**: the *curia* was the unit of division of the people, especially for political purposes, and was originally local. The organization of each *curia* was quite distinct. Each had its own place of worship and religious rites. The popular assembly of the regal period, based on this division, was called the *comitia curiata*. — **nomina . . . imposuit**: the names of some of the *curiae* are preserved, as, for example, Faucia, Rapta, Titia, and Velitia. These look like the names of women and this fact perhaps prompted the statement here made by Livy. One name, Rapta, is especially significant.

7. Id = *aetate . . . darent* below. — **hoc**: *i.e.* thirty.

8. centuriae tres equitum: the patrician corps of cavalry, three hundred in all, there being one hundred from each of the three tribes mentioned below. — **Ramnenses, Titienses, Lucerum**: the three original patrician tribes were the Ramnes, the Tities, and the Luceres. They seem to have been local organizations originally occupying three different parts of the city. The statement in Livy implies the belief that the Ramnes was of Roman origin, and the Tities of Sabine origin. As to the meaning of Luceres the ancients were as much in doubt as we are.

Chapter 14.

Tatius, the former Sabine king, is killed. The Fidenates take up arms against Rome, but they are drawn by the Romans into an ambuscade, and driven back into their town.

1. pulsant . . . poterant: the hist. pres. is used in the same sentence with a past tense. This would not be permitted in English. — **iure gentium**: by the right applying to intertribal relations. — **apud**: *with*. — **suorum**: refers to *Tatium*, the logical subject of the sentence. Tatius was partial to his own friends.

2. illorum: *which they should have suffered*. — **sollemne**: *regularly recurring*. What is the derivation?

3. Eam rem . . . ferunt: Romulus did not seem to be sufficiently moved by the murder of Tatius. Two reasons are given for this apparent apathy. — **infidam**: *in which he had no faith*. — **haud iniuria**: a good illustration of the figure of speech called litotes. What is it? See B. 375. 1; A. 326. *c*; H. 752. 8; G. 700; H.B. 632. 1. — **quidem**: *to be sure*. This word usually implies an

idea of concession. Here the concessive idea is strengthened, as frequently, by *tamen* in the following clause. — **legatorum**: see note to *quarum*, p. 15, § 1.

4. his: *Laurentibus.* — **quidem**: see note above. Where is the concessive idea here? — **ortum**: sc. *est.* — **Fidenates**: Fidenae was situated on the left bank of the Tiber about five miles north of Rome.

Page 17. — **esset**: anticipatory. B. 292. 1. *b*; A. 550, 551. *b*; H. 505. II; G. 577; H.B. 507. 4. *b*. — **occupant bellum facere**: they anticipate the Romans in making war. — **Iuventute**: see note to *pubem*, p. 6, § 1. — **agri**: with *quod*.

5. quia . . . arcebat: Fidenae, as already stated, was on the left bank of the river. — **tumultus**: *panic.* — **illatus**: *setting in.*

6. pati: *brook.*

7. locis . . . obscuris: describes the place of ambush. — **id**: explained by *hostem excivit* below. — **portis**: with *adequitando.* — **Fugae**: with *causam.* — **eadem**: as above, *tumultuoso . . . portis.* — **pugna**: *tactics.* — **mirabilem**: *suspicious.* The cavalry of Romulus galloped in a threatening manner nearly to the city gates of Fidenae, and then, as if in fear of having ventured too far (*fuga, quae simulanda erat*), they galloped back again. These tactics were successful, because the Fidenates did not suspect (*minus mirabilem*) that the reason why the Romans pretended flight was to draw them out into the ambush.

8. velut: it was only pretended. — **trepidante**: *wavering.* — **repente**: with *plenis.*

9. Romani: who were in hiding. — **transversam**: *on the flanks.* — **circumagerent**: cf. the use of *esset* above (§ 4).

10. vera: as contrasted with the former pretended flight of the Romans. — **qui**: the antecedent is the subject of *repetebant.* — **simulantes**: sc. *Romanos.* — **repetebant**: plainly expresses an attempted action. — **hosti**: for the meaning of the dat. with verbs compounded with *de, e, ex, ab*, see note on *filiae*, p. 4, § 11. — **obicerentur**: *shut against them* (*ob* —). The use of the mood is the same as of *circumagerent* above.

Chapter 15.

The Veientes are aroused and plunder the fields of the Romans. They are defeated in open line of battle and their lands in turn

ravaged by the Romans. Summary of Romulus's administration.

1. contagione: *infection*, connected by *et* with *consanguinitate*. — **Veientium**: the inhabitants of Veii, about twelve miles northwest of Rome. It was one of the most powerful of the Etruscan cities and for many years a dreaded rival of Rome.

Page 18. — **et** (preceding *quod*): connects the following causal clause with *irritati*, which also expresses cause. — **loci**: probably = *Romae*. — **si**: *if it was true that*. — **iusti**: *regularly conducted*.

2. raptam, portantes: these words suggest booty of a different kind from that described by *agere* (as on p. 1, § 5). — **Romanus**: put for the pl. — **non invenit**: *failed to find*. — **transit**: since the Roman settlement was on the left bank of the river.

3. Quem: *Romanum*. — **ut . . . dimicarent**: the Veientes preferred to fight in the open. — **de**: *for*, that is, *in defense of*.

4. nulla arte: as was the case before (p. 17) in the battle with the Fidenates. — **tantum**: *sheer;* trans. as an adj. with *robore*.

5. Ea clade: explained by *vastat* above. — **pacem petitum**: expresses purpose. — **oratores**: *pleaders*, in its lit. sense. — **parte**: abl. of penalty. B. 208. 2. *b*; A. 353. 1; H. 456. 3; G. 378, REM. 3; H.B. 428. — **in**: *to last for*. The preposition with the acc. implies motion.

6. ferme: *i.e.* the foregoing is only a sketch, imperfect possibly in some details. — **absonum**: *inconsistent*. — **fidei**: gen. with the adj., *absonum*. — **post mortem creditae**: like many other heroes, Romulus was deified after his death. — **animus, consilium**: in apposition with *nihil*. — **avito**: used in its lit. sense.

7. ab illo: with *datis*. — **valuit**: sc. *res*, *the state*. — **in quadraginta annos**: the length of the peaceful reign of Numa, the second king.

Chapter 16.

According to the accepted belief Romulus is carried to heaven in a whirlwind. This belief is confirmed by Proculus Julius, who relates what he saw in a vision.

1. immortalibus: because his achievements secured for him immortal fame. — **contionem**: *muster*. — **in campo ad Caprae paludem**: the wide level space between the hills and the river

afforded excellent opportunities for military maneuvers. Its name, therefore, *Campus Martius*, is significant. This ground was just outside the later Servian wall, for the army as such might not enter the city. The exact location of the Caprae Palus is not known. — **tempestas**: lit. a *season*, but the word is ordinarily used to mean *a bad season, a storm*. — **fragore tonitribusque**: *crash of thunder*, an instance of hendiadys.

Page 19. — **operuit**: *enveloped*. — **eius**: = *Romuli*. — **contioni**: on the dat. see note to *filiae*, p. 4, § 11. — **abstulerit**: the perf. subj. is often used in a result clause which follows a secondary tense.

2. die: here not a solar "day," but a *period* or *season*. Cf. the use of *day* in the first chapter of Genesis. — **raptum** (*esse*): inf. because of the idea of saying which is to be supplied with *patribus* and is suggested by *credebat*. This explanation of the *patres* was discredited by some. See below, § 4. — **orbitatis**: as of children for a father.

3. deum and **regem parentemque**, with **Romulum** are the two objects of *salvere*. — **salvere**: *greet*, to be taken with *iubent*. — **volens, propitius, sospitet**: words that belong to the formal language of prayer.

4. taciti: *i.e.* under their breath. — **manavit**: the word is regularly used of a spring of water percolating through the soil to its outlet below. — **praesens**: the awe they felt *at the time*.

5. unius: *a single individual*. — **rei**: the first account given above. — **Namque**: cf. the use of καὶ γὰρ in Greek. — **desiderio**: *mourning*. — **infensa patribus**: implies that the second account of the death of Romulus was generally believed. — **gravis**: *a man of weight*, to be taken closely with *quamvis . . . auctor*.

6. delapsus: *descended*. — **se . . . dedit**: *presented himself to my view*. — **horrore**: is a shaking fear. The attitude of Proculus was that of *reverential awe* (*venerabundus*). — **contra**: *in the face*.

7. inquit: sc. *Romulus*. — **caelestes**: poetical. — **colant, sciant, tradant**: the injunction of Romulus to the Romans. The imperative would be used in dir. disc.

8. inquit: sc. *Proculus*. — **sublimis abiit**: *disappeared on high*. — **Mirum**: sc. *est*. — **haec**: with *nuntianti*. — **fides**: pred. noun, with which *illi viro* is closely to be taken. — **facta fide immortalitatis**: expresses the time of *lenitum sit*. — **lenitum sit**: *assuaged*.

The recent excavations in the Roman Forum have brought to light a monument which is believed by many to be a memorial in honor of Romulus. For a description of this monument, see Hülsen, *The Roman Forum*, pp. 103–110.

Chapter 17.

The contest for a successor to Romulus. The rule of one hundred *patres* during the interregnum. Method devised for the election of the new king.

1. Patrum . . . versabat: the death of the king gave rise to a new situation, which aroused the hopes of each of the *patres* individually.

Page 20. — singulos: *individuals.* — **pervenerat**: sc. *certamen.* — **factionibus . . . certabatur**: the contest was rather a tribal one (*ordines*), that is, whether a Sabine or Roman should be king (see the sentence following). Each party had its own supporters (*factionibus*).

2. ab . . . regnatum: a Sabine had not shared in the sovereign power. — **Romani veteres**: the tribe of the Ramnes (p. 16, § 8), while the opposing party belonged to the tribe of the Tities.

3. In variis voluntatibus: contains a concessive idea, emphasized by *tamen* following. — **regnari**: *that there be a king*, that is, that the affairs of state should be administered by a king. The reason for this is given in the words, *libertatis dulcedine nondum experta.*

4. incessit: *seized.* — **sine**: *deprived of.* — **circa**: trans. by a rel. clause. — **Et . . . placebat, et . . . inducebat**: although expressed coördinately, the first clause is plainly subordinate to the second in a concessive relation. — **nemo . . . inducebat**: neither party was willing to yield to the other. — **in animum**: closely with *inducebat.*

5. Ita: since this was the situation. — **rem consociant**: *associate the administration of affairs of state.* — **decem decuriis**, etc.: ten divisions of ten men each were made, and in each division one was elected as chief of that division. This arrangement was apparently based on the supposition that the senate still consisted of one hundred members (p. 10, § 7), although later (p. 16, § 8) the population was doubled by the incorporation of the Sabine element. **Decem imperitabant**, etc.: the affairs of state were intrusted to

these ten divisions severally. The one who was elected chief of a division was distinguished from the rest since he alone possessed the insignia of power and was accompanied by the lictors. The chief exercised his sovereign authority for five days, and the office was held by all the members of each division in rotation. To carry out this arrangement to the end would require five hundred days, a period of time only slightly in excess of the *annuum intervallum*.

6. ab re: *from what it really was*. — **quod . . . nomen**: under the Republic the word *interregnum* was used to mean a vacancy in the consulship caused by the absence from the city of both consuls or by their death. Since the last recorded *interregnum* occurred in the year 53–52 B.C., Livy is quite justified in making the statement he does here.

7. Fremere: hist. inf. In this sentence we have the first mention in Livy of the beginning of the bitter struggle between the patricians and the *plebs*, between the aristocracy and the common people. — **nec**: two things the *plebs* wanted, first, a king, and next, the right to elect him.

8. ea: these two things just mentioned. **ita**: with *permissa*. — **populo**: here plainly = *plebs*. — **ut . . . retinerent**: the *patres* really kept in their own hands more power than they surrendered. How this was done is explained in the following sentence.

9. Decreverunt, etc.: the *plebs* are allowed to nominate a king, but their choice is binding (*ratum*) only in case it is approved by the *patres* (*patres auctores*). — **Hodie**, etc.: in Livy's time a bill proposing a new law or an election of a magistrate had first to be approved by the *auctoritas patrum* before it could be acted upon by the people in the Comitia Centuriata. The ratification of the *patres* was, however, a mere form. — **usurpatur**: *employed*. — **vi adempta**: because the ratification of the *patres* became a mere formality, preceding instead of following the action of the people. — **priusquam . . . fiunt**: a quotation from the law. — **incertum**: *as yet undetermined*.

10. Tum: on this particular occasion following the death of Romulus. — **contione**: an assembly of the people which was called by a magistrate for the purpose of giving information, as the publication of an edict. It was not a legislative assembly. —

quod bonum faustum felix sit: the formal beginning of an edict or proclamation. Grammatically it expresses a wish (*may it be good and favorable and fortunate*), but has very little or no connection in thought with what follows.

Page 21. — 11. victi beneficio: *outdone in kindness.* — **sciscerent iuberentque**: the technical language used to indicate the passing of bills in the popular assemblies. — **ut . . . decerneret**: that is, the people begged the senate to choose a king.

Chapter 18.

Numa Pompilius, of Sabine descent, is chosen king. His training and character. The election is confirmed by augury.

1. religio: *reverence for the gods.* — **ea tempestate**: *i.e.* considering the time when he lived. — **Numae**: the name of this mythical lawgiver and king may be connected etymologically with the Greek word *νόμος, law.* — **iuris**: with *consultissimus.*

2. Auctorem: *teacher.* — **falso**: with *edunt.* — **Pythagoram**: the famous Greek philosopher, whose last and ripest years were spent in Magna Graecia in southern Italy. The exact time when he lived is not absolutely known. — **Servio Tullio**: the sixth king of Rome. — **annos**: the acc. where the abl. might be expected. B. 217. 3; A. 407. *c*; H. 471. 4; G. 296, Rem. 4; H.B. 416. *d.* — **Crotona**: Gk. acc. Cf. *Pana*, p. 5, § 2. — **aemulantium**: *pursuing eagerly*, as if in rivalry.

3. etsi . . . fuisset: even if Pythagoras were a contemporary of Numa. It is implied that he was not. — **quae fama**: sc. *adlata esset.* — **quo . . . commercio**: *through the medium of what language.* — **excivisset**: sc. *fama* as subject. Three reasons are given why Pythagoras could not have instructed Numa: (1) the Sabines, removed at such a distance from Croton, could scarcely even have heard of the philosopher; (2) Pythagoras and Numa knew no language in common; (3) it would have been unsafe for Numa to travel so far through the country of so many unknown peoples.

4. Suopte: *his own*, referring to Numa; the word is made emphatic by the enclitic, *-pte.* — **quo genere**: the antecedent is *veterum Sabinorum.*

5. rege inde sumpto: expresses condition. — **quisquam**: in

partitive apposition with *patres*, with which *ausi* agrees. — **se**: in same construction as *alium* and *quemquam*. — **ad unum**: *unanimously*, like the English *to a man*.

6. augurato: *by augural rites*. — **honoris ergo** : = *honoris causa*. — **cui deinde . . . fuit**: but we can hardly suppose that before the time of Numa there was no formal procedure for determining the will of the gods. Read Carter, 1–26.

Page 22. — **versus**: *facing*.

7. Augur, etc.: the augur first took his seat on the left side of Numa, holding the *lituus* in his right hand. Having prayed, he divided the heavens into two districts by drawing an imaginary line from east to west,[1] and he declared that the signs toward the south were favorable and those toward the north were unfavorable. Then he changed the *lituus* to his left hand, placed his right on the head of Numa, and offered a prayer. He then specified the signs he wished sent. The ceremony ended when these signs appeared. — **lituum**: a short wand crooked at one end. The form of the crosier of a bishop is supposed to have been suggested by this symbol. Read the article *Lituus* in Rich's *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

9. uti . . . adclarassis: the archaic language of prayer. *uti*= *utinam*. The verb is in the perf. subj.; in classical Latin it would be *adclaraveris*.

Chapter 19.

Numa, the lawgiver, religious leader, and king of peace, establishes the gates of Janus. He regulates the calendar.

1. eam: repeats the object, *urbem novam*. — **legibus ac moribus**: Numa was the great lawgiver, as Romulus was the great warrior.

2. Quibus: *i.e. legibus ac moribus*. — **adsuescere**: some such word as *homines* is to be supplied as subject. — **Ianum**: *a temple of Janus*, an ancient Italic god, the guardian spirit of gateways and entrances. — **ad infimum Argiletum**: *at the foot of the Argiletum*, a broad thoroughfare entering the Roman Forum on its north side.

3. semel: 235 B.C. — **iterum**: 29 B.C. — **quod**: obj. of *videre-*

[1] Perhaps we are to suppose that the augur drew two imaginary lines in the heavens, from north to south and from east to west, thus dividing the space into four districts.

mus, its antecedent being the idea contained in *clausus fuit post bellum Actiacum*. Since Livy does not mention the third closing of the temple of Janus, which occurred in 25 B.C., and since the title of Augustus was not conferred upon Octavianus before 27 B.C., we may conclude that Livy began the writing of his history of Rome between these two dates.

4. positis . . . curis: expresses a conditional idea and belongs to the clause *ne luxuriarent*. — **animi**: *courage*. — **continuerat**: *had kept alive*. — **rem**: in apposition with *deorum metum* (below); the word *rem* is modified by *efficacissimam*, while *imperitam* and *rudem* are to be taken with *multitudinem*.

Page 23. — 5. Qui: its antecedent is *deorum metum*. — **sine . . . miraculi**: *without the invention of some wonderful story*. — **Egeria**: the nymph of the spring, mentioned below, p. 24, § 3.

6. omnium primum: the Romans attributed to Numa the establishment of the calendar on the basis of a lunar year. As the calendar was of much importance in state and religious matters, it was perfectly natural to suppose that it had been originated by that great organizer and religious leader. — **duodecim**: implying that before this the year was divided in a different manner. Tradition connected with the name of Romulus a calendar of 10 months or 304 days. — **quia . . . explet**: the lunar month was about 29½ days long. The lunar year, therefore, had about 354 days and was more than 11 days shorter than the solar year (*anno qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe*). The number XI should perhaps be restored in the text following *desuntque*. — **intercalariis mensibus**: since the lunar year was 11 days shorter than the solar year and would soon be out of harmony with the seasons, it was necessary to *insert* extra months at regular intervals. — **dispensavit**: *regulated*, the obj. of the verb being *quem* (above). — **vicesimo anno**: by inserting intercalary months at certain points during a period of 20 lunar years, Numa succeeded in making the average length of a year about 365 days, that is, a solar year. — **ad metam**: with *congruerent*. — **plenis spatiis**: abl. abs.

7. nefastos dies fastosque: on days that were *fasti* (cf. *fas*) civil and judicial business might be transacted without fear of displeasing the gods, but *dies nefasti* were *religiosi*, or days unsuitable for worldly business (cf. *quia aliquando nihil cum populo*

agi utile futurum erat). On these days rites of purification were performed, or the powers of the earth or of the dead were worshiped. On the extant fragments of Roman calendars, the oldest of which date from about the time of Julius Caesar, these days are marked by the letters F and N respectively.

Chapter 20.

Numa creates priesthoods and the offices of the greater flamens. He appoints a chief priest to have general charge of all religious matters.

1. sacerdotibus creandis: important religious rites and offices were attributed to Numa. — **flaminem Dialem**: a special high priest of Jupiter.

2. ne . . . desererentur: the negative purpose of *creavit*. — **vicis**: *office*. — **adsiduum**: *resident*, always ready to serve. — **insigni veste** (=the *toga praetexta*), **curuli sella**: see notes to these words, p. 9, § 3. — **Quirino**: the Sabine god of war with whom Romulus was sometimes identified. The flamen Dialis, the flamen Martialis, and the flamen Quirinalis, whose creation is here attributed to Numa, were the three *flamines maiores*.

3. virgines Vestae legit: inconsistent with p. 4, § 11, where Rea Silvia, the mother of Romulus and Remus, is described as a Vestal. This inconsistency is glossed over by the expression *sacerdotium genti conditoris* (i.e. *Romuli*) *haud alienum*. It is explained by the natural desire of the Roman mythographer to refer to Numa the establishment of so important a cult. — **sanctas**: their persons were inviolable.

4. Salios (connected with *saltare*, (*salire*), "to leap"): so called because of the sacred religious dances in which they took part (cf. *tripudiis sollemnique saltatu*, below). On the rites of the Salii read Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 38–43. — **Marti Gradivo**: Mars, who fights in the fore of the battle. — **pictae**: *embroidered*. — **insigne**: a noun. — **ancilia**: the sacred shields, one of which tradition says fell from heaven, the remaining eleven being made, in imitation of it, by Numa's order.

5. Pontificem: this pontifex, as later the pontifex maximus, had general oversight of religious matters.

Page 24. — sacra exsignataque: information relating to the

ceremonials was preserved by written records, not handed down by oral tradition. From this source the pontifex knew *quibus hostiis . . . erogaretur.* — **eos**: = *sacrorum faciendorum sumptus.*

6. quo: lit., *a place whither*, i.e. *a person to whom.* — **consultum**: supine. — **plebes**: a variant form of the fifth decl. for *plebs.* — **ne quid . . . turbaretur**: the religious system of the Romans became in time very complex, and it was necessary that there should be some one versed in religious lore, to whom the devout but ignorant worshiper could turn for instruction.

7. iusta funebria placandosque manes: the worship of the spirits of the dead was an important element in Roman religion. — **prodigia**: signs of the will of the gods, often of their anger or displeasure. The temperament of the early Roman was distinctly religious. — **quo**: indefinite, *any.* — **ea**: sc. *prodigia.* — **Elicio**: the etymological relation of this epithet with *elicienda* is obvious.

Chapter 21.

Effect of the religious training upon the people. Other rites and ceremonies introduced by Numa. Comparison of his rule with that of Romulus.

1. insidens: *absorbing.* — **ea**: = *tali.* — **pietate**: *religious devotion.* — **fides**: *regard for one's word.* — **proximo . . . metu**: abl. abs. Even the fear of punishment from violation of the law was not as strong a governing principle in their lives as was a moral sense of right and wrong induced by their worship of the gods.

2. se: with *formarent.* — **eam**: = *talem.* — **totam**: adverbial. — **nefas**: sc. *esse.*

3. Camenis: derivation? Cf. note to *Carmenta*, p. 8, § 8. — **earum**: = *Camenarum.*

4. Fidei: the personification of the abstract quality of good faith. See Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 237. — **curru arcuato**: a two-wheeled chariot having an arch-shaped covering. For an illustration see Rich, *Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities*, under the word *arcuatus.*

Page 25. — sedemque . . . in dexteris: cf. note to *dextra data*, p. 2, § 8.

5. Argeos: shrines or chapels, twenty-seven in number, dis-

tributed in the four regions of the Servian city. Twice a year (in March and May) religious processions visited these shrines in order and certain ceremonies were performed. Both the origin of the name, Argei, and the significance of the celebration are lost in obscurity. Read Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 111–121.

6. deinceps: *successive*, has the force of an adjective.

Chapter 22.

On Numa's death Tullus Hostilius, of Roman descent, is elected king. His character is portrayed. Greatly desiring war, he secures a rupture of relations with the Albans.

1. interregnum: *i.e.* the temporary form of government instituted during the time that intervened between the death of one king and the election of another. See Chap. 17. — **cuius clara pugna fuerat**: *who had distinguished himself in the battle.* The reference is to the event described in Chap. 12.

2. proximo regi: Numa.

3. agrestes: notice the derivation.

4. fere: with *idem*. — **ad res repetendas**: *to seek restitution.* — **ne . . . agerent**: they were first before all things to carry out the king's instructions. — **pie**: *justly.*

5. Albanis: who came to Tullus to demand restitution. — **socordius**: when the comp. degree of the adj. thus stands alone it may be trans. by such a word as *rather* or *too* according to the connection. — **priores**: before the Albans. — **renuntiant**: *re-* in composition implies motion; *they come back and report this to Tullus.*

6. purgando: *in offering excuses.*

Page 26. — minus: equivalent to *non*. — **dicturos**: *were about to say.*

7. uter . . . dimiserit: indirect question following *testes*. — **eum**: *i.e. uter populus*, etc. — **expetant**: *visit.* The subject is *dei* to be supplied. See the following note. — **clades**: better taken as obj. of *expetant*. Cf. *numen expetiturum poenas* below, § 4.

Chapter 23.

War ensues between the Romans and Albans. Before a battle is fought, Mettius Fufetius, the Alban king, asks for and secures a conference with Tullus, in which he suggests that the supremacy

be decided in some other way than by the unrestrained shedding of blood.

1. domum: implies motion, *return home and announce*. — **Troianam . . . prolem**: in apposition with *parentes natosque*.

2. acie: the contest was not between armies. — **modo**: *merely*. — **alterius**: of Alba, as we shall see in Chap. 29.

3. milia: for the acc. see note to *annos*, p. 21, § 2. — **fossa Cluilia**: perhaps this *trench* was a part of the drainage system of the Roman Campagna, and the name *Cluilia* connected with the word *cloaca*, "sewer." The story told here, however, explains the name in an interesting manner, even if it is not historically true. — **cum re**: *i.e. with the trench*.

4. ferox: *emboldened*. — **ab ipso capite**: referring to the death of Cluilius. — **expetiturum**: see above on § 7. — **impium**: cf. the meaning of *pie*, p. 25, § 4. — **stativis** (*castris*): *permanent camp*.

Page 27. — 5. adlaturum: *present*.

6. tamen: Tullus was not unwilling to have a conference, *still* he went prepared to fight. — **vana**: *useless* (*proposals*).

7. infit: this word occurs most often in early Latin. — **iniurias, non redditas** (*non-restitution of*) **res**: the subjects of *esse*, which latter depends upon a word like *dicentem* to be supplied with *regem*. — **ex foedere**: this treaty has not been mentioned before by Livy. — **et**: correlative with *nec* (= *et non*). — **causam**: predicate. — **eadem . . . ferre**: *i.e.* have the same pretext. — **dictu**: supine. — **cognatos**: see the beginning of the chapter (§ 1).

8. Neque, etc.: should be expanded to *utrum recte an perperam fiat*. — **fuerit**: perf. subj. B. 275; A. 439; H. 559. 2, 560; G. 263. 3; H.B. 501. 3. — **deliberatio**: *subject for reflection*. — **me**: emphatic as contrasted with *eius*.

9. spectaculo: dat. of purpose. — **certa**: *assured*. — **dubiam**: the outcome is *doubtful*. — **utri . . . imperent**: depends upon *decerni* (below).

10. Quaerentibus: the so-called dat. of agent is sometimes used with the pres. pass. indic. — **et**: fortune as well as the soldiers.

Chapter 24.

It is agreed that the supremacy shall be decided by a hand-to-hand conflict between the Horatii, three brothers on the Roman

side, and the Curiatii, three brothers on the Alban side. Rites observed on the making of a treaty.

1. nobilior: *better known.* — **error**: *uncertainty.* — **utrius . . . fuerint**: it was not known with certainty whether the Horatii were Romans or Albans. — **utroque**: there is authority for both views. — **Horatios**: the direct object of the verb. — **hos . . . animus**: we learn from this sentence the way in which Livy weighed his sources. The principle that the majority view is correct is not a sound one for historical criticism. See Introduction, p. xiii.

Page 28. — 2. agunt: *treat, negotiate.* — **ibi**: *on that side.*

3. ictum: see note to *ictum*, p. 2, § 9. — **cuius populi**: antecedent is *is* (sc. *populus*).

4. Tum: on this occasion. — **Fetialis**: the college of fetial priests, whose number is not known with certainty, existed from early times to represent the Romans in international relations, particularly in the ratifying of treaties, in the declaration of war, and the making of peace. A chief elected by the fetials from their own number was called the *pater patratus*. When proceeding on a foreign mission, one of the priests bore the sacred herb (*sagmina, verbena*) from the arx as a symbol of Roman territory. This priest was called *verbenarius*. — **foedus ferire**: an expression similar to *foedus icere*. — **sagmina**: *the sacred herb*, the same as *herbam puram*, and *verbena* below. — **puram**: sc. *herbam, undefiled.*

5. ex arce: the center or heart of Roman territory. — **vasa**: the sacred emblems, the *verbena* (§ 6) and the *silex* (§ 9). — **comites**: other members of the fetial college. — **quod . . . fiat**: *in so far as it may be done.* — **fraude**, *harm.*

6. patrandum: *pronounce, i.e.* repeat the form of the oath observed in making a treaty. — **sanciendum**: *ratify* with religious rites. — **carmine**: *metrical formula.* — **non operae**: *not worth while.* B. 203; A. 345; H. 448; G. 365; H.B. 355.

7. ut . . . potes pollesque: affords a good illustration of the fullness of legal or formulaic expression. — **prima postrema**: *from first to last.* — **cerave**: inserted in the formula in later times when waxen tablets were used. — **sine dolo malo**: *without evil intent.* — **deficiet**: *violate.*

8. defexit: archaic for *defecerit* (fut. perf. indic.). — **Diespiter**: the (archaic) nom. case for *Juppiter*, which is in reality a voc. By

derivation the word means *father of light.* — **porcum**: the victim regularly sacrificed on the occasion of the ratification of a treaty. — **saxo silice**: *with a flint stone.* This is possibly a survival of the practice in the stone age and testifies to the great conservatism of religion.

Page 29. — **sacerdotes**: the *fetiales.*

Chapter 25.

Description of the fight between the Horatii and Curiatii. At first two Romans are killed, and all three Albans wounded. The latter are quickly dispatched by the surviving Horatius, who is unharmed, and who is received with loud demonstrations of joy by his countrymen.

1. qui: see note to *utrumque . . . consalutaverat*, p. 7, § 1. — **deos patrios . . . intueri manus**: governed by the idea of saying implied in *adhortarentur.* — **quicquid**: the neuter intensifies the idea of universality which the author wishes to express. — **suopte**: see note to *suopte*, p. 21, § 4.

2. periculi . . . expertes: they were fearful of the issue of this contest on which the independence of their respective states was staked, rather than apprehensive of any danger to themselves personally. What is the derivation of *expertes*, and how does it differ in meaning from *experti?* — **quippe . . . agebatur**: *for, you see, it was a question of.* — **positum**: *dependent upon.* — **erecti suspensique**: they watched eagerly with anxious souls.

3. terni: a distributive numeral, *three on each side.* — **magnorum exercituum animos**: *the courage that inspires great armies.* — **his, illis**: on the dat. see note to *Numitori*, p. 6, § 6. — **suum**: refers to the logical subjects, *his, illis.* — **periculum, imperium**: an instance of adversative asyndeton. Some such word as *sed* is to be supplied. — **animo**: with *obversatur.* — **futura**: with *fortuna*, but trans. by a rel. clause. — **fortuna**: also subject of *obversatur.* — **fecissent**: pluperf. subj., following an idea of thinking implied in *obversatur animo.* It would be expressed in the dir. disc. by the fut. perf. indic.

4. arma: *shields.* The following description of the fight is typical of Livy's spirited, imaginative style. — **horror**: *shudder.* — **neutro**: adverb, like *eo, quo, aliquo, utroque*, expressing motion

toward a place. — **torpebat vox spiritusque**: they were speechless, even their very breathing ceased.

5. agitatioque anceps: the swaying back and forth of their weapons as yet giving no indication of the superior strength of one side or the other.

6. quorum: *i.e. duorum Romanorum exspirantium.* — **vice unius**: *because of the fate of the single (surviving Roman).*

7. ut . . . sic: *while . . . yet.* — **segregaret pugnam**: so as to fight them one by one.

Page 30. — **secuturos**: sc. *Albanos.* — **ita**: *so,* looking forward to *ut (as) . . . sineret.*

8. magnis: *wide.*

9. impetu: *fury.* — **ex insperato faventium**: sc. *esse, to come from those who applaud an unexpected success.* — **adiuvant**: *cheer on.*

10. alter: the other of the two remaining, really the third of the Curiatii. — **et**: *also.*

11. singuli: *one on each side.* — **Alterum**: the Roman; acc. case, with *ferocem.* — **intactum**: with *corpus* (nom. case). — **alter**: the Alban. — **strage**: a very expressive word.

12. Manibus: the deified shades of his two brothers, who are appeased by the death of the two Curiatii. — **sustinenti**: sc. *ei,* which should be trans. as if it were the gen. case, with *iugulo.* Cf. *Numitori,* p. 6, § 6.

13. animis: *feelings.* — **dicionis alienae facti**: *brought under foreign sway.*

Chapter 26.

Horatius stabs his sister for being moved with pity at the fate of the Curiatii, to one of whom she was betrothed. The youth, tried for murder, appeals to the people and is acquitted.

Page 31. — **2. Princeps**: the surviving Horatius advanced *at the head of* the procession. — **porta Capena**: a gate of the later Servian wall on the southern side of the city. It is mentioned here merely to indicate in a general way the place where the unfortunate event occurred. — **paludamento**: the military cloak.

3. iuveni: trans. as if *iuvenis,* and cf. note to *Numitori,* p. 6, § 6. — **in**: *at the time of.*

5. **meritum**: *service.* — **raptus in ius ad regem**: *hurried away to the king to stand trial.* — **ingrati**: because of the recent service of Horatius. — **secundum**: a preposition; so also below. — **qui . . . iudicent**: *to try Horatius on a charge of treason.* — **perduellionem**: Horatius was charged with treason because he had usurped the authority of the state in putting a citizen to death without a trial. Note the derivation of the word.

6. **horrendi carminis**: *of awful import.* — **iudicent**: the formal legal expression in English would be *shall adjudge guilty of.* The implication is that the duumvirs did not hear evidence, but simply passed judgment upon a person manifestly guilty of *perduellio.* — **provocarit**: sc. *reus.* As in other early Roman laws the subject is not always specified. The duumvirs did not constitute a court for the final settlement of such cases, but the defendant had the right of appeal to the people. — **provocatione certato**: *let him* (*reus*) *be tried in accordance with the appeal.* — **vincent**: sc. *duumviri.* — **obnubito, suspendito, verberato**: sc. *lictor.* — **infelici arbori**: *upon a barren tree*, which was sacred to the gods of the lower world. The words are in the loc. case. — **pomerium**: probably derived from *post* and *murum.* In the course of time the word developed three meanings. It first signified a boundary line about the city, inside the city wall, within which the auspices could be taken. Later it came to mean the strip of land extending all around the city between this boundary line and the wall. Is is in one of these limited senses probably in which the word is used in the present passage. Finally, *pomerium* was extended to mean a strip of land on both sides of the wall. The last is the explanation given by Livy in Chap. 44.

7. **qui . . . non rebantur**: under the law there was nothing for the duumvirs to do but find Horatius guilty, even though there were extenuating circumstances (*innoxium*). — **iudico**: *I adjudge you guilty.*

8. **accesserat**: pluperf. to indicate time prior to *inicicbat;* this latter word expresses an action, not as completed, but as attempted or begun. — **auctore Tullo**: *at the instance of.* — **ad**: *before.*

9. **patrio iure**: known legally as the *patria potestas*, which gave to the oldest living representative of a family the right of absolute authority over the members of his own household. As a matter

of fact the paterfamilias generally exercised his rights wisely and fairly. — **animadversurum fuisse**: in indir. disc. this would be *animadverterem*.

Page 32. — 10. Pila Horatia: evidently existing in Livy's time. Another writer describes it as a pillar which stood at the corner of a hall or arcade in the Forum, and which was decorated with the armor of the defeated Curiatii. *Pila* may be fem. sing. (*pillar*), or neuter pl. from *pilum* (*javelin*) as suggested by *inter illa pila*, below, § 11. But either would refer to the trophy. — **sub furca vinctum**: seems to be synonymous with *infelici arbori suspensum* (p. 31, § 6). — **tam deforme spectaculum**: attracted into the rel. clause, *quod . . . possent; si viderent* is to be supplied in thought.

11. arbore infelici, etc.: cf. with the legal form given above, p. 31. — **tanta foeditate supplicii**: *so disgraceful a punishment.*

12. ipsius: *i.e. filii.*

13. Is quibusdam . . . misit iuvenem: This interesting legend of Horatius seems to be of aetiological origin, which arose from an attempt to explain certain early names and ceremonials. See note below on *sororium tigillum* and Introduction, p. xx. — **Id**: *tigillum.* — **semper refectum**: the Roman calendars show that this was done every year on the first day of October. — **sororium tigillum**: this monument, perhaps an ancient Janus gate, stood at a cross street in the vicus Cuprius on the Esquiline hill. It seems to have been a wooden beam resting on two upright supports. The beam was called *sororium* perhaps from a neighboring altar sacred to Juno Sororia, and this adjective helped to suggest the story that Horatius, having killed his sister, was forced to perform certain expiatory rites here. See Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 238.

14. saxo quadrato: the tomb was built of rectangular blocks of stone laid in regular courses.

Chapter 27.

Mettius Fufetius, the Alban king, now a subject of Rome, agrees treacherously to desert to the Fidenates and Veientes when they renew hostilities against the Romans, but in the battle the coolness of Tullus wins the day for the Romans.

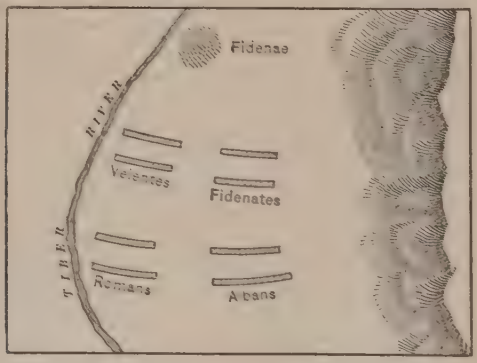
1. nec: contains an adversative idea. — **invidia**: *dissatisfaction.* — **fortuna publica**: *the public weal.* — **vanum**: *vacillating.*

Page 33. — 2. edicto: a formal proclamation. — **per speciem**: *under cloak*. — **societatis**: the *alliance* with the Romans.

3. colonia Romana: established probably at the time when Fidenae was taken by Romulus (see Chap. 14). — **transitionis**: to the side of the Fidenates.

4. Anienem: the Anio river enters the Tiber about three miles north of Rome. Tullus pitched camp at the confluence of the two streams on the right bank of the Anio. Fidenae was two miles north of this spot.

5. prope: *near* the river. — **in sinistro**: *on the left* of the Veientes. — **contra legionem**: *facing the army*. The following was the battle formation: —



Albano: Mettius. — **animi**: *courage*. — **succedit, subisse**: the prep. in composition suggests a stealthy action.

6. satis: he went as far as he dared, and then, to gain time, he engaged in unnecessary maneuvers. Cf. also *fluctuans animo*. — **qua . . . ea** (sc. *via*): *there . . . where*. — **rem**: *success*.

7. esse: hist. inf. — **latera sua**: their right flank. — **citato equo nuntiat**: *comes up at full speed and announces*. — **Salios**: these were probably the twelve *Salii* of the Quirinal district, called *Collini* or *Quirinales*, who were priests of Quirinus, as distinguished from the twelve Salii of the Palatine (Chap. 20), appointed by Numa to direct the cult of Mars Gradivus.

9. magnae parti: *from the majority.* — **id . . . rati**: *thinking that it was so.* — **pars . . . sciebant**: an agreement according to sense. — **ut qui . . . essent**: at the time of the founding of the Roman colony (see note above, § 3, on *colonia Romana*), some of the original Etruscans were no doubt allowed to remain in Fidenae, and they thus came to know some Latin.

Page 34. — 10. oppido = Fidenae, the subject of *intercluderentur* being *Fidenates* supplied. — **alieno**: of the Fidenates. — **obiectum ab tergo**: as Tullus engaged the Fidenates, the Veientes probably wheeled about to face the Romans. The river was thus behind them.

11. Quo: = *ad flumen.*

Chapter 28.

Tullus summons the armies and harangues his soldiers. He punishes Mettius with death, which he inflicts in a horrible manner.

1. Quod bene vertat: the beginning of the formal proclamation of the king. See note to *Quod bonum*, etc., p. 20, § 10. — **sacrificium lustrale**: a rite of purification for the whole army.

2. ab extremo orsi: the Albans evidently had quarters on the outer edge of the camp. — **novitate**: of hearing a harangue by the Roman king. — **etiam**: as well as because they were summoned to come.

3. Ex composito: at the king's orders. — **legio**: see note to *legio*, p. 13, § 1.

4. Romani: Tullus addresses the Romans exclusively. — **alias**: adverb. — **fuit quod**: *there has been a reason why.* — **ipsorum**: *own*, limits the gen. idea contained in *vestrae*. — **hesternum id proelium fuit**: an abbreviated expression for *that time was yesterday in the battle.*

5. ne . . . teneat: parenthetical clause of purpose. — **iniussu meo**, etc.: in an emphatic position. Reproduce in English, for example, thus, *it was not at my order that*, etc. — **imperium**: the command that *circumduci Albanum exercitum ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant.* Tullus really did not issue this order, but merely pretended that he had done so (*imperii simulatio*) for the two reasons following. — **illud**: subject of *fuit*, with *imperium*,

consilium, and *simulatio* as predicate. — **vobis**: for the use of the case see note to *Numitori*, p. 6, § 6.

Page 35. — **6. inde**: from the place where they were first drawn up. — **Mettius**: what is the effect of the repetition of the name?

7. in hunc: expresses motion and so implies another verbal idea than the one contained in *dedero*, e.g. *if I do not visit punishment upon him and so give to men*, etc. — **Quod . . . vobisque**: see note on *quod . . . vertat*, at the beginning of the chapter. — **traducere**: *transfer.* — **plebi, primores**: *i.e. Albanorum.* — **quondam**: when it was contemplated founding Rome (Chap. 6).

8. in variis voluntatibus: contains a concessive idea as *tamen* shows.

9. si posses: implying that he could not. — **vivo tibi**, etc.: there are two ideas here, — I should have allowed you to live and should have taught you.

10. quadrigis: the word in this place signifies a chariot drawn by four horses. — **earum** = *quadrigarum.* — **ab tanta foeditate spectaculi**: *from so repulsive a sight.*

11. exempli: with *supplicium, of a kind that has too little regard* (lit. *too little mindful*) *for the laws of humanity.*

Page 36, Chapter 29.

Alba Longa is razed to the ground, and the Alban population transferred to Rome.

1. Inter haec = *interim.* — **legiones**: used here apparently in the later sense of the word.

2. omnia . . . miscet: *creates general confusion with sword and fire.*

3. silentium . . . maestitia: they did not express their sorrow in lamentations, or their grief in words. — **relinquerent, ferrent**: in dir. disc. this would be the deliberative subj. B. 277; A. 443, 444; H. 559. 4; G. 265; H.B. 503. — **deficiente consilio**: *not knowing what to do.* — **ultimum visuri**: *destined to see for the last time.* This scene of the Albans leaving their homes and native city makes a vivid and lasting impression upon the mind.

4. fragor: *crash.* — **inducta**: *gathering.* — **quibus . . . elatis**: an abbreviated expression for *eis elatis quae quisque poterat.* —

larem ac penates: *household gods.* The two words were used in Livy's time probably without distinction. See note to *penates*, p. 2, § 9.

5. continens: *unbroken.* — **augusta**: *holy.*

6. adaequat: *razes.* — **quibus**: B. 231. 1; A. 424. *b*; H. 417. 2; G. 393; H.B. 440.

Chapter 30.

The expansion of Rome following the settlement of the Albans in the city. War is declared upon the Sabines, who seek reënforcements in Etruria. In a fierce battle the Sabines are defeated with great loss.

1. Caelius mons: southwest of the Palatine hill. The Caelian hill was not an isolated elevation like the Aventine or Palatine, but was connected with the table-land on the east. See the map facing p. 54. — **eam sedem**: the two objects of *capit.*

Page 37.—2. curiam: the Curia Hostilia, here ascribed to Tullus Hostilius, was on the north side of the Comitium, which was an open square lying north of the west end of the Roman Forum. A new senate house, the Curia Julia, was begun by Julius Caesar and completed by Augustus in 29 B.C. The restoration of the latter building by Diocletian is still standing. — **ad . . . aetatem**: the Curia Hostilia was rebuilt on a larger plan by Sulla.

3. decem turmas: as there were thirty men in each *turma*, Tullus created as many *equites* as did Romulus (Chap. 13).

4. Hac fiducia virium: trans. as if *harum fiducia virium.* — **genti**: in apposition with *Sabinis.*

5. Feroniae fanum: Feronia was a goddess of fertility worshiped in Latium and central Italy. Her most famous shrine was located near the foot of Mt. Soracte, where on the day sacred to the goddess a great fair or market was held. — **frequenti**: the market was not exclusively Sabine, wherefore the Roman traders were discriminated against. — **lucum**: the *asylum* opened by Romulus. See Chap. 8.

6. haud parum: see note to *haud iniuriae*, p. 16, § 3. — **ab Tatio**: the Sabine king.

7. Inde: = *a Veientibus.* — **residuas**: *lingering.* — **bellorum**: subjective gen. — **defectionem**: not "revolt," since the Veientes had

never been made subject to Rome. — **apud vagos . . . valuit:** mercenary soldiers were also enlisted. — **publico auxilio:** no state of the Etruscans, as such, assisted the Sabines, and the Veientes, nominally at least, observed the truce made with Romulus (Chap. 15). — **nam . . . mirum est:** it is not surprising that the other Etruscans sent no aid, for they had no grievance against Rome.

10. nec pugna, etc.: cannot be translated literally in keeping with good English.

Page 38, Chapter 31.

In consequence of a shower of stones upon Mt. Alba a sacred festival is instituted. Tullus, having fallen prey to a lingering illness, suddenly becomes devoted to the worship of the gods, the observance of whose rites he had formerly neglected. He is struck by a thunderbolt and consumed by fire.

1. in magna . . . esset: *was enjoying,* etc. — **lapidibus pluvisse:** this *prodigium* is usually supposed to have been a meteoric shower, or possibly it was a tradition handed down from the prehistoric period when Mt. Alba was an active volcano.

2. (*eis*) **missis:** to be taken closely with *in conspectu;* see the note to *Numitori,* p. 6, § 6. — **grandinem glomeratam agunt:** *drive the hail in heaps.*

3. ex summi cacuminis luco: occupied by a sanctuary of so great antiquity that its origin takes us back to the pastoral age. The name of the divinity to whom it was sacred was in historic times Jupiter Latiaris. — **patrio ritu:** the origin of the ceremonies in honor of Jupiter Latiaris upon the Alban Mount dates from a very remote antiquity. The rites consisted chiefly in offering a libation of milk and in the sacrificing of a pure white heifer that had never felt the yoke; of the flesh of the victim each representative of the Latin communities round about received and consumed a portion.

4. Romanis: cf. *quaerentibus,* p. 27, § 10. — **quoque:** as well as by the Albans. — **haruspicum:** soothsayers, usually Etruscans who were famed for their ability to interpret the divine will from signs and portents.

5. pigritia: *indisposition.*

6. illi: that courage well known from his achievements. —

regium: *becoming a king.* — **superstitionibus**: this word in the classical period had always a religious significance (cf. below, *religionibus*). It was not the equivalent of our word "superstition." — **obnoxius**: *devoted to.*

7. unam opem: explained by *si . . . impetrata esset.* — **aegris**: because of the *pestilentia.*

8. volventem: *unrolling* = *reading*, since the ancient book was in the form of a roll. — **sacrificia Iovi Elicio**: referred to in Chap. 20.

Page 39. — **operatum**: perf. part. — **rite**: *according to ritual.* — **prava**: i.e. *non rite cultum.*

Chapter 32.

Ancus Martius, elected fourth king of Rome, revives the sacred rites established by Numa. War with the Latins is threatened. Ancus introduces a ritual of procedure for the declaration of war, and in accordance with this ritual war is declared upon the Latins.

1. Quo: *interrege.*

2. proximum: *preceding.* — **cetera**: Greek acc. of specification, *in other respects.* — **parte**: *particular.* — **antiquissimum**: *antiquus* developed in meaning from *ancient* to *venerable, revered,* and then to *important, desirable,* the meaning in this passage. — **album**: a whitened tablet on which the sacred rites were written. It was set up convenient of access in some public place (*proponere in publico*). — **in . . . abiturum**: *would return to.*

3. desidem: predicate with the force of an adverb.

4. memor: *reminding one.* — **praeterquam quod**: *aside from the fact that.* — **etiam**: sc. *credebat,* on which *habiturum* (*esse*) depends. — **illi**: *Numae.* — **otium**: attracted into the rel. clause. — **temptatam**: *i.e.* having been tried successfully.

5. bellicae: *observed in the declaration of war.*

Page 40. — **Aequiculis**: what does the word mean from its derivation? — **fetiales**: the procedure of the fetial priests in making a treaty was described in Chap. 24.

6. Legatus: *representative* = *fetialis.* — **capite velato**: the conventional mode prescribed for priests. — **iuste**: in the eyes of men. — **pie**: in the eyes of heaven.

7. Peragit: *recites.* — **illos, illas**: we have here what may be described as a blank form of the prayer, to be filled out as the occa-

sion required. Cf. *illum* below, § 10. — **dedier**: archaic form of the pres. pass. inf. = *dedi*. Cf. also *siris* (= *siveris*, perf. subj.) in the following line. Such archaisms, which occur in the language of prayer of the present day as well as of ancient times, are marks of the extreme conservatism of religion.

8. haec: repeated before each phrase to mark distinctly the four places at which the prayer is to be uttered. — **carminis**: because early prayers were expressed in metrical form. — **concipiendi**: *in the wording of*.

9. sollemnes: *regular, required* by the fetial law.

10. Iane Quirine: Janus, as the god of gates which were open in time of war (Chap. 19), bears here the epithet Quirinus, the Sabine god of war. — **ad consulendum**: used absolutely, *to take counsel*, but *consulebat* (§ 11) is used in an active sense, *asked the advice of the patres*.

11. rerum, litium, causarum: a use of the gen. occurring in legal formulas. Its meaning is very nearly equal to that of *de* with the abl. — **condixit**: also a legal expression, *has made declaration*. — **populi Romani Quiritium**: a comprehensive phrase to describe the whole body of Roman citizens. *Quiritium* is probably to be taken as a gen. dependent upon *populi Romani*, i.e. *composed of the Quirites*, as on p. 41, § 13 below. — **Priscorum Latinorum**: the unmixed primitive Latin stock. — **nec dederunt**, etc.: note the verbiage of legal expression, common also in our own day.

12. Puro pioque: cf. the expression above (§ 6), *iuste pieque*. — **duello**: archaic for *bello*. Legal as well as religious formula is conservative. — **quaerendas**: sc. *res*. — **censeo**: the formal word used in expressing an opinion in the senate. — **in eandem sententiam ibat**: suggests the Roman method of voting by *discessio*, that is, the method by which supporters of a motion withdrew to one side of the senate chamber.

Page 41. — **praeustam**: *burned at the end*. — **eorum**: = *hostium*.

13. Quod . . . ob eam rem: *whereas . . . therefore*. This formal declaration of war is an excellent illustration of the fullness of language which seeks to provide against every contingency.

14. moremque . . . acceperunt: when the limits of Roman territory became greatly extended by conquests, an area near the temple of Bellona in the Campus Martius was set apart to represent

foreign soil. In this area was erected a boundary stone, called the *columna bellica*, over which the fetial cast his spear in declaring war upon the distant enemy.

Chapter 33.

Ancus captures four cities of the Latins and transfers their population to Rome. The Janiculum is annexed to the city and connected with it by a wall and a wooden bridge over the river. Other improvements are made.

1. Politorium: the precise location is not known.

2. Capitolium: the south elevation of the Capitoline hill, **arcem**, the north elevation. — **Aventinum**: southwest of the Palatine hill and overlooking the river. — **eodem**: *i.e. in Aventinum.* — **Tellenis Ficanaque**: both towns were south of Rome.

3. receptaculum: *rendezvous.*

4. Medulliam compulso: *centered at Medullia*, a town northeast of Rome. — **praesidioque**: the connective joins *tuta* and *firmata.*

Page 42. — 5. After **vincit** Madvig suggests that some such phrase as *deinde urbem vi cepit* has been lost from the text. The restoration supplies a thought that seems necessary. — **ad Murciae**: with *ad* a word like *sacellum* is supplied in thought (cf. English "at St. Paul's"). Murcia has by some been identified with Venus. The place sacred to this divinity lay in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills.

6. Ianiculum: the long ridge on the west side of the Tiber, running north and south and nearly parallel with the general course of the river. It formed a natural means of protection against the Etruscans. — **ponte sublicio**: constructed wholly of wood (cf. the derivation of *sublicius* from *sublica, a pile*). The bridge was a little below the island in the Tiber, probably in the vicinity of the present Ponte Rotto. With this first wooden bridge were connected many religious associations. Read Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 112–114.

7. Quiritium fossa: constructed as a means of fortification along the level stretches on higher ground where there was no natural protection.

8. discrimine: *distinction.* The phrase following in its expanded form would be *utrum recte an perperam factum esset.* —

carcer: the ancient prison of Rome, situated at the foot of the Capitoline, "overlooking the Forum." It consisted of two parts, an upper and a lower chamber, both of them still accessible. It was in this prison, which was according to Roman ideas not a place of detention, but merely of incarceration preceding execution, that state criminals were put to death. Read the description of the prison in Sallust, *Cat.* 55, and see Hülsen, *The Roman Forum*, pp. 119–123. — **ad**: *to inspire.*

9. silva Mesia: apparently on the west side of the Tiber just below Rome. — **Veientibus**: dat. — **Ostia**: once the seaport town of Rome. Its site is now at least four miles inland, owing to the enormous amount of sand carried down by the Tiber and deposited at its mouth. The importance of a harbor at the mouth of the river was recognized by Julius Caesar, and its construction on an elaborate scale was realized by the Emperor Claudius. — **salinae**: in Italy to-day salt is still obtained by the evaporation of sea water.

Chapter 34.

Lucumo, an Etruscan noble, fired by the ambitious spirit of his wife Tanaquil, migrates from Tarquinii to Rome. Just before reaching Rome an omen appears, which Tanaquil interprets as foretelling the success of her husband. Known as L. Tarquinius Priscus, he wins the confidence of the king.

1. Lucumo: tradition now introduces an Etruscan into the active control of affairs at Rome. *Lucumo* was a word of Etruscan origin, being a title of nobility. On the Etruscan civilization and its influence upon Rome see the Introduction, pp. xvii, xviii. — **honoris**: the *honor* that comes from official position. — **Tarquiniis**: the city of Tarquinii in southern Etruria was one of the chief centers of Etruscan culture and influence. — **quoque**: his father, Demaratus of Corinth, was not a native of Tarquinii, just as he himself was not a born Roman.

3. immemor: *making no provision for.*

Page 43. — **sortem**: *share.* — **Egerio**: attracted to the dat. case by *puero*. The name is evidently conceived to be derived from *egere, to be without.*

4. animos: *pride, high spirits.* — **auxit**: the subject is *ducta*

in matrimonium Tanaquil. — **Tanaquil**: the name has a foreign sound. — **et**: connects *nata* with the rel. clause following. Two things aroused the eager desire of Lucumo, his marriage with Tanaquil, and the ambitious pride of the woman herself. The clause *quae . . . sineret*, expresses a characteristic idea. — **iis**: with *humiliora*. — **quo** = *in quae*.

5. exule advena ortum: the ground for *spernentibus*. — **potuit**: sc. *Tanaquil*. — **ingenitae erga patriam caritatis**: the equivalent of our *love of country, patriotism*.

6. potissimum: *best*. — **in novo populo . . . Numae esse**: the thought of Tanaquil. — **ex virtute**: *dependent upon merit*. — **et**: *also, even*. — **nobilem una imagine**: in a later period a *nobilis* (one whose ancestor had held a curule office) had the right to set up in his atrium a waxen portrait-mask (*imago*) of his illustrious ancestor. Ancus had had but one famous ancestor, his grandfather, Numa.

7. persuadet: sc. *ei*, which is limited by *cupido* and is also the antecedent of *cui*. — **materna** = *matris*.

8. Ianiculum: coming from Etruria, they would see Rome first from this hill. — **ei**: see note to *Numitori*, p. 6, § 6. — **carpento**: a two-wheeled covered vehicle used in traveling. — **pilleum**: a round cap having no brim. It was made of felt and was close-fitting. — **apte**: *properly, neatly*.

9. ut vulgo Etrusci: divination played a very important part in the daily life of the Etruscans, and to them the Romans owed much of their knowledge of augury. — **eam alitem**: the eagle. — **ea regione**: a favorable one. — **eius dei**: Jupiter. The demonstrative here = *talis*. — **summum culmen**: i.e. *caput*. — **humano capiti**: with the prep. in composition; *humano* is contrasted with *divinitus*.

10. L. Tarquinium Priscum: possibly there is some etymological relation between Lucius and Lucumo (see above in p. 42, § 1). The *nomen* Tarquinius undoubtedly suggested the story that this king came from Tarquinii. In Etruscan tomb inscriptions the names Tarcnal and Tarchnas occur. The cognomen Priscus was probably not given to the Etruscan to distinguish him from the later Tarquinius Superbus.

Page 44. — 11. novitas: *i.e.* the fact that he was new in the community. — **adloquio, comitate, beneficiis**: with *conciliando*.

12. Notitiam: *mere acquaintance.* — **apud regem:** with *adduxerat.* — **expertus:** *tried (satisfactorily).*

Chapter 35.

By a clever ruse Tarquinius succeeds in getting himself elected king. A town of the Latins is captured, and extensive booty taken. A circus is designed and games are instituted.

1. prope: a preposition. — **Eo:** *for this reason.* For what reason?

2. sub: *just before.* — **primus:** distinguish in meaning from *primum.* — **ambitiose:** Livy assigns to the past, a practice current in his own day, namely, that of candidates for office going about (*ambio*) to solicit the favor and support of their friends. Cf. note to § 6, below.

3. se non rem, etc.: how far does the indir. disc. extend? — **non:** observe the position of the word, *it was not a new request he was making.* Cf. also *non primus* following. — **quippe qui:** see note to *quibus superesset,* p. 1, § 5. — **quod:** what is the antecedent? — **ultro:** *without solicitation on his part.* See note to this word, p. 5, § 3.

4. ex quo: sc. *tempore.* — **sui potens:** referring probably to his acquiring the *patria potestas.* See note to *patrio iure,* p. 31, § 9. — **maiorem . . . homines:** Tarquinius came to Rome when he was a young man.

5. iura, ritus: he had made himself familiar with the details of Roman politics and religion.

6. virum: object of *secuta est.* — **cetera:** Greek acc. of specification. — **petendo:** sc. *regno.* — **ambitio:** during the early classical period this word never means "ambition" in the abstract sense, but rather *struggle for position,* whether official or social. Cf. the derivation, *ambio, go about* (*to solicit support*), and see note on *ambitiose,* § 2, above.

Page 45.—7. ibi: in the territory of the *Latini.* — **Apiolas:** site unknown. — **quam . . . fuerat:** *i.e.* greater than the apparent importance of the war at the outset led them to expect. — **opulentius instructiusque:** *on a richer and more elaborate scale.*

8. circo: the Circus Maximus was built in the long level valley between the Aventine and Palatine. In this early period there

was nothing in the nature of a permanent structure, the slopes of the hills on either side affording convenient places for viewing the games. — **Loca divisa**: as a matter of fact the reservation of certain sections for the senators and *equites* respectively was not made until 194 B.C. — **facerent**: why subj.?

9. furcis: abl. abs. with *sustinentibus*. The *furcae* were probably triangular-shaped supports. — **spectacula**: the seats. — **alta**: predicate. — **equi pugilesque**: i.e. *contests of horses and boxers*. — **Sollemnes**: the games acquired a sacred character. In Livy's time the *Ludi Romani* were celebrated every year from Sept. 5 to 19.

10. tabernae: before the draining of the valley occupied later by the Roman Forum (see Chap. 38) only shops of the most temporary character could have been erected.

Chapter 36.

A war with the Sabines suddenly breaks out. Tarquinius seeks to enroll new centuries of equites, and to distinguish them by his own name, but he is prevented from doing the latter by the science of augury, for which he has contempt.

2. equitem: like our expression, "the horse." — **suo**: i.e. *Tarquinii*.

3. inaugurato: abl. abs. of the neuter perf. part. It should be translated like an adverb, *by augury*. Cf. *augurato*, p. 21, § 6. — **negare**: hist. inf. — **mutari**: impersonal, *neither could a change be made* in the composition of the centuries. That is, neither could the old centuries be changed nor new ones added.

4. regi: what use of the dat.? — **eludens**: *mocking*.

Page 46. — divine tu: *thou man of God*, ironical. — **quod . . . concipio**: he does not at first tell Navius what is in his mind. — **Atqui**: *well*. — **haec** : = *novaculam et cotem*. — **tuae**: ironical.

5. capite velato: see note to the same words, p. 40, § 6. — **comitio**: for its location see the note to *curiam*, p. 37, § 2. — **fuit**: implies that the statue was no longer in place at the time Livy wrote.

6. certe: whether the story is true or not.

7. tantum: used substantively. Tarquinius doubled the number of the *equites*. — **mille et octingenti**: we should infer from

other passages (Chaps. 13 and 30) that previous to this time only 600 *equites* had been enrolled, but from the present passage we should suppose that before Tarquinius doubled their number there were 900. Perhaps the larger number here may be explained by confusion with the later reforms of Servius (Chap. 43) when there were eighteen centuries of *equites*, that is, theoretically 1800 men.

8. modo: *only*. — **Posteriores**: Tarquinius did not change the number of the original three centuries, but he doubled the number of *equites* in each century and distinguished those newly enrolled by the word *posteriores*. — **sex centurias**: the language implies that in Livy's time this name was still current. Under the name *sex suffragia* they had six votes in the *comitia centuriata*.

Chapter 37.

The Sabines are worsted in a battle with the Romans, first at the Anio river and then in their own country.

1. Hac parte: the *equites*. — **qui**: the antecedent is *eis*, supplied with *missis*. — **impacta**: with *sublicis*. — **pontem**: over which the Sabines probably crossed the river.

2. quoque: as well as the increased strength of the Roman army. — **eadem**: sc. *res*, the burning of the bridge. — **insignem . . . fecere**: *brought news of the victory*.

Page 47. — 3. instantes: limits *legiones*. — **cedentibus**: sc. *Romanis*, with *instantes*.

4. petebant: they all *tried to reach* the mountains, but (*et*) only a few succeeded in doing so.

5. Vulcano: the god of fire. Why had the vow been made to Vulcan?

6. res (before *non dabat*): *the situation*. — **tumultuario**: without being formed in line, as regularly.

Chapter 38.

Collatia surrenders, and several towns and dependencies of the Prisci Latini are taken. Tarquinius prepares to build a wall of stone about Rome. He drains the low parts of the city with sewers, and makes ready foundations for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

1. **Collatia**: ten miles east of Rome. — **citra**: from the point of view of Rome. — **Sabinis**: what case? — **fratris**: Arruns. See above, Chap. 34.

2. **ita, eam**: look forward to the following. — **oratores**: see note on this word, p. 18, § 5. — **Sumus, Est, Dedimus**: in Latin an affirmative answer is given by repeating the verb which is used in asking the question. — **in sua potestate**: *i.e.* independent of foreign control. — **utensilia**: objects of private or domestic use, as distinguished from *delubra*. Cf. the following *divina humanaque omnia*. — **At**: *well, then.*

3. **triumphans**: the formal word.

4. **universae rei dimicationem**: trans. *a generally decisive contest.* What is the lit. trans.? — **nomen**: for the meaning, cf. the note to *nomen Caeninum*, p. 12, § 3. — **Corniculum**, etc.: this town and those following were situated northeast of Rome. The exact location of some of them is not known.

Page 48. — 5. **quam . . . bella**: *than the effort with which he had carried on wars.* Cf. above, *quam . . . fuerat*, p. 45, § 7.

6. **muro lapideo . . . cingere parat**: apparently Tarquinius merely made preparations to construct a wall of fortification (cf. Chap. 36). The actual completion of such a wall is ascribed to the following king, Servius Tullius. — **alias convalles**: for example, the valley between the Palatine and Aventine. — **cloacis . . . siccat**: the work of constructing sewers was continued by Tarquinius Superbus (p. 67, § 2). From the Etruscans the Romans learned many methods of engineering and architectural construction. — **fastigio**: *on a grade*, that is, sloping downward. — **aedem . . . Iovis**: later the greatest and richest shrine in Rome, the goal of all triumphal processions. —**occupat fundamentis**: refer doubtless to the building of substructures and retaining walls, by which the extent of the *area* was increased.

Chapter 39.

A sign appears foretelling the great future of the lad, Servius Tullius. In consequence he is educated together with the sons of the king and given the hand of the princess in marriage. Accounts differ as to his descent.

1. puero: trans. as if gen. — **arsisse**: *burst into flame.* A sign of this kind portended great good fortune to the individual affected.

2. inde: *in consequence of this*, i.e. *caput arsisse.* — **reges**: *members of the royal family.*

3. Viden: colloquial for *videsne.* — **materiam**: *one who is capable of.*

4. ad . . . cultum: *to a way of living befitting a high station.* — **cordi**: a locative. *Cordi esse* = *placere.* — **evasit**: *turned out to be, developed into.*

5. quacumque de causa: *whatever the reason was*, for which so great respect was shown him.

Page 49. — **prohibet**: the subject is the phrase, *hic tantus honos habitus.* — **serva natum**: this is suggested by his name. Livy prefers the story following which claims for Servius nobility of birth. — **ferunt**: how far does the influence of this word on the structure of the sentences following extend? Make it clear by the translation. — **servitio**: with *prohibitam*, but its position gives color, also, to the statement, *partum edidisse.*

6. mulieres: Tanaquil and the mother of Servius. — **in . . . fuisse**: *was regarded with.* — **ut . . . crederetur fecisse**: *gave rise to the belief.*

Chapter 40.

The sons of the former king Ancus plot the death of Tarquinius, and two shepherds, their accomplices, inflict the fatal wound.

2. filii duo: who were sent on a hunting expedition while Tarquinius contrived to have himself elected king (p. 44, § 2). This fact, as well as the later succession of Servius to the rule of Tarquinius, suggests that hereditary sovereignty, while thought of in the regal period, did not become established. — **filii . . . iis indignitas crescere**: with *filii* in the nom. case, we should expect a verb like *indignabantur*, but after the numerous clauses following, the construction changes and the idea of *filii* is repeated in the word *iis*. *Filii*, therefore, remains without construction in the sentence. This is the figure of speech known as anacoluthon. *Crescere* is hist. inf. — **pro**: *as.* — **se . . . pulsos, regnare**: depends upon the idea of thinking implied in *habuerant.* — **non modo**: when *non modo* is followed by *ne . . .*

quidem in a sentence having one verb, *non modo* is used for *non modo non*. B. 343. 2. *a*; A. 217, *e*; H. 656. 3; G. 482. REM. 1; H.B. 299.

3. si . . . rediret, caderet: a verb of mental action is involved, suggested by *indignitas*. It was most unworthy, they thought, if it was true that the sovereign rule was not to revert to them.— **inde:** *ab Tarquinio.*— **ad servitia:** the sons of Ancus would of course believe the story which ascribed a servile origin to the new aspirant to the throne. Cf. the language used below in the same section. **quod:** the antecedent is *regnum* (below).— **Cum . . . pateret:** also a part of what the sons of Ancus thought. — **si:** *if it was true that.*

4. iniuriae: it was Tarquinius who had wronged them, not Servius. — **In Tarquinium ipsum:** they proceed against the king for three reasons, (1) *iniuriae dolor . . . stimulabat*, (2) *quia gravior ultor . . . rex futurus erat*, (3) *quemcumque . . . delegisset, heredem facturus videbatur.*

Page 50. — 5. ferramentis: is attracted into the rel. clause, and expresses the means of *specie rixae convertunt. Rixae* implies a verbal force as if it were *rixantes*, and it is this verbal idea which *tumultuosissime* limits.

Chapter 41.

The king falls dying and great excitement prevails. Tanaquil remains calm. She urges Servius Tullius to assert his claim to the throne. Thus encouraged he performs the offices of the king for several days before it is known to the populace that Tarquinius has breathed his last.

1. mirantium: agrees with *populi*, regarded here as a collective noun. — **quid rei esset:** *what was the matter*, partitive gen.

2. ludibrio: dat. of purpose, *be the laughing stock of her enemies.*

3. vir: a *man* in the real sense of the word, brave and strong. — **alienis:** the shepherds acted for the sons of Ancus. — **nunc expergiscere vere:** just as before Servius awakened from sleep after the omen declaring his great future (Chap. 39).

4. clamor . . . multitudinis: *the shouting and press of the throng.* — **Novam Viam:** the *Nova Via*, so called perhaps to distinguish it from the *Sacra Via* which was older, ran along the slope

on the northeast side of the Palatine hill, and turned at the north corner of the hill toward the Velabrum. Henceforth for centuries the Palatine hill was the favorite place of residence of the rulers of Rome. — **Iovis Statoris**: see note to *Statori Iovi*, p. 14, § 6.

Page 51. — 5. Confidere: sc. *se.* — *ipsum*: sc. *regem.* This word, to be supplied, is the subject of the following *iubere.* — **Servio**: indir. obj. of the idea contained in *dicto audientem* (= *oboedientem*). — **eum**: *Servium.*

6. trabea: a royal robe adopted by the early kings. Later it was worn on special occasions by the consuls and the *equites.* — **fungendae**: *fungor* in the gerundive construction may be used as a transitive verb. — **primus**: what would *primum* mean?

7. Suessa Pometia: south of Rome, but the exact location is not known.

Chapter 42.

Servius Tullius strengthens his position by giving his two daughters in marriage to the sons of Tarquinius, and justifies his claim to the throne by military successes over the Etruscans. His great work was the institution of a property rating of the citizens and their division into classes and centuries.

1. Nec: adversative.

2. quin: *so as to prevent that.* — **domesticos**: *the members of his own household.* — **infida . . . faceret**: *create general distrust and hostility.* — **ad . . . status**: the war with the Veientes came very opportunely to preserve for a time the existing state of peace. — **indutiae**: see p. 18, § 5, and p. 37, § 7.

3. haud dubius: after his victory there would be no question as to his fitness to rule.

4. opus: the framing of the constitution, described in the following chapter. — **auctor**: *originator.*

Page 52. — discriminis ordinumque: hendiadys. — **fama ferrent**: *laud, ascribe the honor of.*

5. Censum: a *rating* of the citizens on the basis of property qualification. — **ex quo**: i.e. *censu.* — **pro habitu pecuniarum**: before the time of Servius civic burdens were borne by all equally. Now the wealthier classes were to bear the heavier burdens, though as compensation they were to exercise greater influence in the

management of state affairs. — **hunc**: *the following.* — **vel . . . bello**: the organization of the Roman state was essentially military.

Chapter 43.

The Servian constitution. Five classes of citizens are created, based on a property qualification. These constituted the infantry. Of the cavalry there were eighteen centuries. In return for the added burdens which this division imposed upon the rich they were given added privileges.

Parallel Reading: On the Servian constitution, Mommsen, I. 114–122; Niebuhr, *Lectures*, I. 69–94, *History*, I. 433–487; Duruy, I. 117–128; Lewis, I. 487–502; Abbott, 20, 21; Greenidge, 65–77; Granrud, 21–24; Taylor, 25–36; Seeley, 77–87; Shuckburgh, 43–49; Carter, 27–61.

1. milium: depending upon *censum.* — **aeris**: currency valuation of property as a basis for the classification of citizens belonged to a much later period. In this early time the basis for such classification was undoubtedly the possession of landed property, twenty acres (*iugera*) of land admitting to the first class, fifteen acres to the second, ten acres to the third, five acres to the fourth, and two acres to the fifth. — **centurias**: each of the five classes was subdivided into *centuriae.* At first each *centuria* may have contained exactly one hundred men, but later the number could hardly have been fixed so absolutely. — **seniorum ac iuniorum**: in each class the *centuriae* were equally divided into the *seniores*, who remained at home on garrison duty, and the *iuniores*, who performed active military service in the field.

2. galea, **clipeum** (a small, round, metal shield), **ocreae**, **lorica**: these were the defensive weapons with which the members of the first class were required (*imperata*) to provide themselves. — **hasta**, **gladius**: their offensive weapons.

3. fabrum: *sappers.*

4. instituta: sc. *est.* — **scutum**: a long, rectangular-shaped shield of wood covered with leather. A larger shield was needed for this class, since the members of it wore no *lorica.* — **eadem**: as of the first class.

5. quinquaginta milium: *i.e.* the rating was from 50,000 to

75,000 *asses*. The *as* was the unit of later currency, and was worth about 1¼ cents. — **totidem**: there were 20 *centuriae* in this class also, 10 *seniores* and 10 *iuniores*. — **ocreae ademptae**: as the property qualification decreases, the requirements of military equipment are likewise lessened.

6. quinque et viginti milium: *i.e.* the rating was from 25,000 to 50,000 *asses*. — **totidem**: *i.e.* 20.

8. undecim milibus: the rating of the fifth class was from 11,000 to 25,000 *asses*. — **Hoc**: abl. case.

Page 53.— 9. ad equos emendos: each *eques* was provided with the means of purchasing his own horse. — **quibus . . . alerent**: dependent on *penderent*. This sum of money for the keeping of the horses (known as *aes hordearium*) was levied upon unmarried women of means, who, not being included in the census, would otherwise contribute nothing to the support of the state. — **Haec omnia onera**: the burdens of military equipment and service. The following table summarizes the Servian classification of citizens: —

Equites	18	*centuriae*
Infantry		
Prima classis	80	"
Secunda classis	20	"
Tertia classis	20	"
Quarta classis	20	"
Quinta classis	30	"
Fabri	2	"
Cornicines tubicinesque	2	"
Reliqua multitudo	1	*centuria*
Total	193	*centuriae*

10. honos: *privilege*, in compensation for bearing the burdens mentioned above. — **traditum**: used substantively as obj. of *servaverant*. — **promisce**: *without distinction*. — **gradus facti**: gradations of *centuriae* were made, and each one had a right to vote. As a matter of fact, however, any given question could be definitely settled by the wealthy classes. For the voting was by *centuriae* and each *centuria* had one vote. If, therefore, the *equites* and the first class of the infantry could agree on a question, their combined

vote of 98 *centuriae* constituted a majority of the whole number of 193 *centuriae*.

11. vocabantur: to vote. — **ibi si variaret**: if the *equites* and the first class did not agree. — **ut . . . vocarentur**: depends upon some verbal idea, suggested perhaps by the preceding *incidebat*, as, *(it was customary) for the centuriae of the second class to be summoned*. — **nec**: adversative. It very rarely happened that the classes of lowest property qualification were summoned to cast a deciding vote.

12. Nec mirari, etc.: the meaning of the passage is somewhat obscure. About 241 B.C. the *comitia centuriata* was reorganized on a tribal basis. Each of the 35 tribes, which number had been reached by that time, was divided into *seniores* and *iuniores*, and the citizens of each of the classes of *seniores* and *iuniores* were arranged in five classes according to their wealth, each class forming one *centuria*. There were thus $35 \times 2 \times 5$ or 350 *centuriae*. Possibly this affords an explanation of the obscure *duplicato earum numero*, if we suppose *earum* = *centuriarum*, since the number of the *centuriae* in the five classes of the Servian constitution (excluding the *equites*, of course) was 175. — **hunc ordinem**: *the present arrangement*, in Livy's time. — **centuriis**: abl. of means of *duplicato*. — **ad . . . non convenire**: *does not agree with*.

13. Quadrifariam: the four Servian tribes were Suburana, Esquilina, Collina, and Palatina. — **tributo**: rather is it true that this word is derived, through the verb *tribuo*, from *tribus* (connected with *tres*, *three*), one of the three original divisions of the Roman citizens.

Chapter 44.

The rating of the citizens completed, the army is purified by a lustral ceremony. The population of Rome. The Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills are annexed, and the city is surrounded by a wall. Meaning of the word *pomerium*.

1. incensis: the prefix has a negativing force. — **cum**: *coupled with*.

2. suovetaurilibus: the triple sacrifice of a boar (*sus*), a ram (*ovis*), and a bull (*taurus*), the three most valuable animal victims. The ritual of purification (*lustravit*) required that the victims be

led three times around the assembled people (*instructum*) before being sacrificed.

Page 54. — **lustrum**: later, when the office of censor had been created, these rites were performed after the completion of the census, and since the census was taken every five years, the word *lustrum* came to mean a period of five years. The word, brought over into English, is still employed in this sense. — **Fabius Pictor**: see Introduction, p. x. — **eum numerum**: i.e. *milia octoginta*. — **fuisse**: dependent on an idea of saying implied in *adicit* (= *adds to this number by saying that*).

3. Quirinalem, Viminalem, Esquilias: the three spurs of land projecting westward from the table-land on the east. See the map facing p. 54. — **auget**: i.e. *enlarges* the city by annexing. — **Aggere et fossis et muro**: tradition thus assigns the building of the early boundary wall of the city, of which extensive remains are still to be seen, to Servius Tullius. The course of this wall we know better to-day as a result of excavations than did the Romans themselves of Livy's time. For a description of these remains see Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, pp. 45–50, 113–116, or Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, pp. 60–66. The *agger* and *fossae* were built over the eastern plateau only, which, being a level stretch, needed to be defended by stronger fortifications.

4. Pomerium: see the note on this word, p. 31, § 36, where the meaning is discussed. — **continuarentur**: *built up to*. The free space on either side of the wall all the way around the city acquired a sacred character because of its great importance in the protection of the community.

5. post: *beyond, next to*.

Chapter 45.

The Latin peoples erect a shrine to Diana at Rome. The fulfillment of a prophecy assures supremacy to the Romans.

1. decus: the temple about to be mentioned.

2. Dianae Ephesiae fanum: the renowned shrine of Diana at Ephesus, which was built in the sixth century B.C., was the common sanctuary of twelve Ionian states. In like manner the temple of Diana on the Aventine at Rome reflects in its origin elements not exclusively Roman. It was erected for the common worship

of Romans and Latins and probably likewise the Sabines (cf. the story following), while the cult shows traces also of a Greek character. — **deos consociatos**: *associate worship of the gods*, which served to bind communities together as *socii*. — **eadem**: with *iterando*.

Page 55. — **3. id**: the question of supremacy, *de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat*. — **Sabinis**: the Sabines, as well as the Latins, had recognized Rome's supremacy.

5. ibi = *eius civitatis*, antecedent of *cuius*. — **carmen**: *prophecy* in metrical form.

6. Sabinus: the *pater familiae* already mentioned. — **responsi** = *carminis*. — **Quin perfunderis**: *why do you not wash yourself?* The verb has the force of a middle voice.

7. qui . . . cuperet: expresses cause.

Chapter 46.

The election of Servius as king is confirmed by the people, but one of his sons-in-law, an impetuous youth, aspires to the throne. He finds a kindred spirit in his brother's wife. These two, securing freedom by the death of their respective spouses, are together joined in wedlock.

1. usu: *by prescription*, because of long undisturbed possession of the sovereignty. — **agro . . . diviso**: the means of *conciliata*. — **vellent iuberentne**: the formal expression.

Page 56. — **2. crescendi**: *of increasing his power*. The verb is intransitive. — **et ipse . . . et domi uxore**, etc.: two additional reasons to account for the deed of Tarquinius.

3. Tulit: *produced*. — **et**: as well as some of the princely houses of mythical Greece, as, for example, the house of Atreus. — **ut . . . veniret, esset**: purpose.

4. pluribus auctoribus: see note to *hos . . . animus*, p. 27, § 1. — **ediderim**: B. 280. 2; A. 447. 1; H. 552, 554. 2; G. 257; H.B. 519. I.

5. His duobus: dat. case, lit., *had veiled themselves* (*nupserant*) *for these two*. — **ut ante dictum est**: in Chap. 42. — **ne . . . iungerentur**: the idea of purpose is uppermost, since *ne* and not *ut non* is used.

6. virum: *a man* in the real sense of the word. This is the meaning of *virum* also in the following line.

7. alieni: i.e. *sororis*. — **de viro** (sc. *suo*) **ad fratrem** (sc. *eius*), **de sorore** (sc. *sua*) **ad virum** (sc. *eius*). — **se rectius futurum fuisse**: *it would be better if she were unmarried*, etc. — **futurum fuisse** and **visuram fuisse** (§ 8): the conclusions of conditions contrary to fact, in indir. disc. B. 321; A. 589, *b*; H. 647; G. 597, REM. 4; H.B. 581. *b*. 1. — **contendere**: *avers*, hist. inf., as *parcere* above.

Page 57. — 9. magis . . . adprobante: *Servius rather not preventing (the marriage) than giving his approval*, implying that Servius did not approve, but nevertheless took no active measures to prevent the marriage.

Chapter 47.

Goaded on by his wife's madness, Tarquinius arouses a party in his favor. On his own responsibility, he calls a meeting of the senate, and charges Servius with usurping the throne and heaping injustice upon the patres.

1. infestior: *incited greater hostility*. — **gratuita**: *for naught*.

3. istic = *in te*.

4. Quin accingeris: the verb has a middle force. Cf. the note on *quin perfunderis*, p. 55, § 6. — **ab Corintho**: as did your grandfather, Demaratus. — **patris imago**: cf. the note on *Numae imagine*, p. 43, § 6.

5. Facesse, etc.: contemptuously. — **ad stirpem**: *to (the level of) your ancestors*. *De-* in the verb and *retro* express the sinking back to a lower state.

6. si: *if (she must believe that)*; the following expresses the thought in Tullia's mind. — **momentum**: *influence*.

7. paterni beneficii: in creating the *minorum gentium patres* (see Chap. 35). — **circumire**: hist. inf. Other examples follow. — **de se**: *on his own account*. — **regis**: obj. gen.

Page 58. — 8. pro: *in the front of*, not "before." — **ad regem Tarquinium**: the language of the proclamation.

9. non venisse: *failure to come*. — **novitate ac miraculo**: hendiadys.

10. ultima: Tarquinius went as far back as he could in the

history of the family of Servius. — **servum**, etc.: indir. disc. to the end of the chapter. — **patribus, muliebri**: adversative asyndeton. Supply *sed*.

11. alienae honestatis: *the honorable estate of others*, namely, the nobles (*primores*), in which class Servius, *serva natus*, could not claim a place.

12. omnia onera . . . inclinasse: as a result of the promulgation of his new constitution. — **insignis**: *a mark*.

Chapter 48.

Servius, hurriedly summoned, remonstrates; but Tarquinius cruelly ejects the king from the senate house and sends a messenger to kill him. Afterward Tullia in her carriage drives over her father's dead body. Summary of the reign of Servius.

1. quid hoc rei est? *what does this mean?*

2. concursus populi fiebat: do not trans. literally.

3. medium: he seized Servius *by the waist*.

4. Fit fuga: cf. note above on *concursus . . . fiebat*.

Page 59. — 5. non abhorret: *it is not inconsistent*.

6. Cyprium vicum: the vicus Cyprius (or more correctly vicus Cuprius) ran along the slope of the Carinae (see map facing p. 54) toward the Subura. It was crossed at its highest point by the clivus Urbius (Orbius) also called vicus Sceleratus (§ 7), which ascended the Esquiline ridge. — **flectenti**: *i.e.* bidding the driver turn. The participle, which (sc. *ei*) is to be taken with *restitit*, may be translated by a temporal clause.

7. furiis: the avenging spirits of the murdered sister and husband pursuing the guilty cause of their death. — **sanguinis ac caedis paternae**: *blood of her murdered father*, an instance of hendiadys.

8. accessit: see note to *accesserant*, p. 7, § 3.

9. tam mite ac tam moderatum: contains a concessive idea, as *tamen* indicates. — **esset**: sc. *imperium*. — **ni . . . intervenisset**: sc. *et imperium deposuisset*. — **intestinum**: *in his own household*.

Chapter 49.

Tarquinius Superbus rules. To maintain authority he is obliged to make his reign one of terror. He allies himself with the Latins.

1. Superbo: attracted to the dat. case by *cui*. — **insepultum perisse**: with a curious disregard of the time relation of the perf. part.

Page 60. — 2. conscius: *knowing full well*. — **quaerendi regni**: with *exemplum*. — **ut qui**: see note to *quibus superesset*, p. 1, § 5.

4. reponenti: sc. *ei*, with *tutandum esset*. — **Quem**: what is the antecedent? — **sine consiliis**: although the king, as supreme ruler, adjudicated all civil and criminal cases, it was customary for him in important matters to associate with himself a body of counsellors drawn from the senate.

7. senatum consulendi: yet the senate was merely an advisory body, whose counsels the king might reject, if he chose. The king was, however, expected to ask the advice of the senate; Tarquinius instead took counsel with his friends (*domesticis*).

9. Tusculano: a national adj. — **nuptum**: what form is this?

Chapter 50.

Tarquinius fails to keep an appointment which he made with the Latin chiefs, and is fiercely attacked in a speech by Turnus Herdonius of Aricia. The latter refuses to accept the excuse for absence proffered by Tarquinius.

1. lucum Ferentinae: a grove on the shore of the Alban lake, sacred to the divinity Ferentina, where the general meetings of the Latin confederation were held.

2. quidem: *to be sure*, suggests a concessive force. See note to *quidem*, p. 16, § 3.

Page 61. — 3. Superbo: sc. *ei*. — **ita**: people called him Superbus under their breath; but the name was nevertheless generally current. On *quidem . . . tamen*, see note above to *quidem*. — **sic**: because Tarquinius failed to meet his appointment.

5. Quod: i.e. *imperium*. — **bene crediderint**: *did well in intrusting*. — **aut si creditum . . . sit**: parenthetical; Turnus intimates that in reality Tarquinius usurped the sovereignty. — **credere**: sc. *imperium*. — **et**: as well as the Romans. — **quamquam . . . alienigenae**: corrective; and yet they ought not after all to give the supreme rule to Tarquinius, since he is of foreign birth.

6. eius: *Tarquinii*. — **quippe qui**: see note to *quibus superesset*, p. 1, § 5.

7. hisque artibus: explained by the preceding adjectives. — **cum maxime dissereret**: *when he was in the very midst of his speech.*

8. disceptatorem: Tarquinius gave as excuse that he had been called in to settle a controversy between a father and son.

9. id: the excuse, object of *tulisse.* — **tulisse**: sc. *Tarquinium.* — **tacitum** (*ab Turno*): perf. pass. part. with *id, passed over in silence.* — **dixisse**: sc. *Turnum.* — **ni pareat . . . esse**: the *pauca verba* with which such a matter could be settled. The *patria potestas* (see note to *patrio iure,* p. 31, § 9) gave the authority necessary. — **habiturum** (sc. *filium*) **infortunium esse**: *it will be the worse for him.*

Page 62, Chapter 51.

Tarquinius contrives a plot to encompass the death of Turnus and is successful.

1. aegrius ferens: cf. a similar expression *aegre passa,* p. 10, § 6.

2. pro: *in accordance with;* the authority of Tarquinius, as king of Rome, did not extend over the Latins. — **oblato**: *trumped up.* — **adversae**: *i.e.* not of the party of Turnus.

4. Adgressurum fuisse: = *adgressus esset* of dir. disc.

5. Inde: explained by *quod destituerit.* — **venturus sit**: the fut. periphrastic expresses the intention of Turnus.

7. Suspectam fecit: *lent suspicion.* — **ob eam**: i.e. *moram.* — **quidem . . . tamen**: note the idea of concession. — **existimaturi**: same use as *venturus* above.

Page 63. — 8. deverticuli: = *deversorium* above. — **enimvero**: emphatic, *why, of course.* — **iniectae Turno catenae**: the reverse of the English mode of expression.

9. indicta: the *in-* is negative. — **crate**: a basket-shaped frame of woven twigs.

Chapter 52.

Tarquinius assembles the Latin chieftains and renews a treaty with them. The armies of the Latins and Romans are amalgamated.

1. qui . . . adfecissent: congratulated *because they had punished,* etc.

2. posse: the position is emphatic, — he *might* (if he chose). — **vetusto iure**: explained by the following. — **ab Tullo**: the reference is to the treaty made by the Albans with Tullus in regard to the issue of the contest between the Horatii and Curiatii (Chaps. 24 and following).

3. censere: *propose;* the formal word to denote the expression of one's opinion in a deliberative assembly. The trickery of Tarquinius is of course apparent. — **ut . . . fruantur**, etc.: the purpose of *renovetur*. — **perpessi**: what is the force of the prep. in composition?

5. indictum: cf. the meaning with that of *indicta* above, p. 62, § 9.

6. ne . . . haberent: the purpose of *miscuit*. — **ut ex binis . . . ex singulis**: every maniple, Latin and Roman, was divided into two halves (*binos ex singulis*), then two halves, one of Latin soldiers and one of Roman soldiers were united to make a complete maniple (*ex binis singulos*). The number of maniples was thus doubled, while none consisted exclusively of Latins.

Page 64, Chapter 53.

Money obtained from the sale of Volscian booty is set aside for the building of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Failing to capture Gabii by assault, Tarquinius and his son Sextus resort to a trick to deceive the Gabinians.

1. Nec: adversative. — **ut . . . ita**: the relation is concessive. — **ea arte, huic decori**: *i.e.* as *dux belli*.

2. in: (*that was*) *to last for*.

3. Ubi: *Suessae Pometiae*. — **talenta**: the talent was of course not used in Latium, but here as elsewhere, Livy mentions the sum which he found in his Greek sources of information. — **Iovis templi**: the (later renowned) temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the southern elevation of the Capitoline hill.

4. spe: trans. by a clause. — **Gabios**: was situated nine miles east of Rome. Its ruined site is still pointed out near the modern village of Castiglione. — **pulso**: sc. *ei* = *Tarquinio*. See note to *filiae*, p. 4, § 11. — **fraude ac dolo**: traits of character belonging to Tarquinius.

5. ex composito: the son possessed the same traits as the father.

7. ne . . . errarent: parenthetical clause of purpose. —**manere**: *was still in progress.* — **eum**: *Tarquinium.* — **Volscos, Aequos, Hernicos**: enemies of Rome, south and northwest of Latium. See map facing p. 2.

9. Forsitan: a clever remark calculated to stimulate the hesitating spirit of the Gabinians.

Page 65. — 10. morarentur: used in a transitive sense, sc. *eum.* — **Vetant**: *they tell him not to.* — **esset**: what is the subject?

11. eius: refers to whom? — **sub Romana moenia**: the prep. expresses motion.

Chapter 54.

Sextus, received at Gabii, deceitfully insinuates himself into the favor of the inhabitants, and when finally he has matters under his own control, acting on the tacit advice of his father, he kills the leaders of the Gabinians and the city surrenders to Rome.

1. adhiberi: notice the hist. infinitives in the early part of this chapter. How is an hist. inf. distinguished from an inf. in indir. disc.? — **Ubi**: *in consiliis publicis.* — **eae**: refers to what? — **utriusque**: meaning?

2. rebellandum: not "rebel," since Gabii had not yet owned allegiance to Rome. Determine the meaning from the derivation. — **vana**: because their confidence in him had no true foundation.

3. Ibi: *in bello.* — **inscia multitudine**: but Sextus and his father had previously arranged, of course, that all this should happen.

Page 66. — 5. ei (before *dii*): indir. obj.

6. voce: Tarquinius gave no *verbal* reply. — **deliberabundus**: *in a brown study.*

7. ut re imperfecta: the king was unwilling to entrust an answer in words even to the chosen messenger of his son.

8. tacitis ambagibus: *unspoken intimation.* — **invidia**: cause of *opportunos.*

Chapter 55.

The foundations of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus are laid.

1. Tuscis: = *Etruscis.* — **Iovis templum**: which was begun just before the war with Gabii. The site of the future temple had been dedicated by Tarquinius Priscus (Chap. 38). — **monte Tarpeio**: by this name the Romans sometimes designated the Capitoline hill. With it was connected the legend of Tarpeia told in Chap. 11. See note to *peremptam*, p. 14, § 9. — **vovisse, perfecisse**: in indir. disc. depending on a verb of mental action implied in *monumentum.*

2. exaugurare: *deconsecrate;* by the observance of certain forms a site once consecrated to a divinity by augural rites might be divested of its sacredness and be used for other purposes.

Page 67. — 3. omnium: *all* the others. — **aves**: first the auspices had to be taken. — **firma . . . portendere**: it is more likely that this myth shows a close relation, existing from very early times, between the cults of Jupiter and Terminus, the god of boundary stones.

5. caput humanum: some writers went further and said that the name of this man was Olus. The head therefore was *Caput Oli*, whence the name of the hill.

6. arcem: the Capitolium is frequently referred to by Roman writers as a symbol of the greatness and eternity of Rome. — **ita**: as just related, *Quae . . . portendebat.*

7. ad impensas: sc. *faciendas.* — **Pomptinae**: see again the beginning of Chap. 53.

8. crediderim: like *ediderim*, p. 56, § 4. — **Pisoni**: see Introduction, p. xii. — **quadraginta milia pondo**: about ten times as much as the sum given by Fabius.

9. nullorum . . . exsuperaturam: such a sum of money would be more than enough, Livy says, to lay the foundations of the splendid structures even of his own (*huius*) day.

Chapter 56.

The people grumble at the unworthy burdens imposed upon them in consequence of the building operations, and colonists are sent to Signia and Circeii. A terrifying omen appearing in the royal household, two sons of the king are sent to Delphi to inquire its meaning. They take with them L. Junius Brutus. An oracle of the priestess, wrongly interpreted by the Tarquinii,

predicts the fall of their house and the establishment of a new order of things.

1. fabris undique ex Etruria accitis: the Romans were greatly indebted to the Etruscans for constructional and engineering methods. — **operis**: *workmen.*

2. cloacam maximam: all that Tarquinius did probably was to utilize the natural watercourses which descended the slopes to the river by constructing ditches to drain the adjacent lowland. Much later along these natural sewers there were constructed channels with squared blocks of stone, remains of which may be seen to-day. — **quibus duobus operibus**, etc.: the Romans of Livy's time referred these ancient works to the period of the kings, but as a matter of fact they are hardly earlier than the fourth century B.C. — **haec**: cf. *huius* above, § 9. — **Signiam Circeiosque**: the former, inland, was over thirty miles south of Rome; the latter, on the coast, was about sixty-five miles from the city.

Page 68. — 5. Delphos: Delphi, the seat of the oracle of Apollo, was on the southern slope of Mt. Parnassus, overlooking the Corinthian Gulf. The entire site has recently been laid bare by excavations which have revealed the foundations of the temple and have yielded numerous inscriptions and works of art.

6. ignotiora: *less known.*

7. quam: sc. *is iuvenis.* — **interfectum**: we should expect *interfectos* (with *primores*), but the expression is greatly abbreviated. The influence of *audisset* has also invaded the rel. clause where we should expect *in quibus frater interfectus esset.*

8. factus: has a middle force. — **Bruti**: which means "Dullard."

10. per ambages: *symbolic;* trans. as an adj. with *effigiem.*

Page 69. — 12. alio: adverb, lit. *in another direction.* — **velut si**: *i.e.* he pretended to stumble. — **ea**: *terra.*

Chapter 57.

Ardea, the chief city of the Rutuli, is besieged by the king. A controversy arising in the camp among the younger men as to the virtues of their respective wives, they ride to Rome on a tour of investigation, and greatest praise is awarded Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus.

1. Ardea: over twenty miles south of Rome.

2. infestos: with *animos.*

4. stativis: sc. *castris.* — **commeatus:** *furloughs, leaves of absence.*

6. apud: *at the quarters of.* — **Collatinus:** a national adj. — **Egerii:** see Chap. 34.

7. Quin: *why not?*

Page 70. — 8. se intendentibus tenebris: *i.e.* at twilight. — **Collatia:** was ten miles east of Rome.

9. nurus: the wives of the princes. — **aequalibus:** do not trans. by the English derivative.

10. Lucretiae stuprandae: depends on *libido.*

Chapter 58.

Later Sextus Tarquinius secretly returns and dishonors Lucretia. She sorrowfully summons her father and husband, and having told them her unhappy story and having bound them to avenge her, she stabs herself.

2. Ubi = *et ibi.* — **circa:** takes the place of a substantive.

Page 71. — 5. singulis: *each* (with) *one* trusted friend.

6. L. Iunio Bruto: already mentioned (Chap. 56) as a nephew of the king.

7. satine: colloquial for *satisne.* — **salve:** sc. *agis. Is all well?* — **hostis pro hospite:** notice the effect of the alliteration.

9. animi: has the force of a locative. — **coacta:** sc. *ea.*

10. videritis: perf. subj. expressing a mild exhortation.

Chapter 59.

Those present bind themselves by an oath to expel the hated Tarquinii from Rome. Under the leadership of Brutus an armed body of men march to Rome, where Brutus informs the populace of what has happened. A decree of banishment is passed upon Tarquinius, his wife, and children.

2. unde . . . ingenium: depends upon the verbal idea in *miraculo.* — **novum:** because Brutus had established for himself the reputation of being stupid.

Page 72. — 4. quod . . . deceret: in apposition with *arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos.* — **capiendi:** with *auctor.* — **ausos:** sc. *eos,* governed by *adversus.*

5. regibus: the king and his sons. — **celerum**: the bodyguard of the king. See the last sentence in Chap. 15.

8. Tricipitini: Lucretia's father's name was Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

10. memorata: sc. *est*. The subjects are *caedis* and *invecta . . . filia*. — **caedis**: nom. case.

Page 73. — 11. praesens: anger *felt at the time*. — **facilia**: with *quae*. — **subicit**: *suggests*.

12. praefecto urbis: appointed by the king as his representative during his absence from the city.

Chapter 60.

Tarquinius and his sons are forced to go into exile. Two consuls are elected to administer the government.

1. re nova: the cause of *trepidus*.

2. Caere: an important Etruscan city about twenty-five miles northwest of Rome.

3. Regnatum: *the government was administered by kings*. — **annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor**: since the traditional date of the founding of Rome was 753 B.C., the first year of the Republic was counted as 509 B.C.

BOOK II, CHAPTERS 9–15

THE ATTEMPT OF TARQUINIUS TO REGAIN HIS THRONE (508–506 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the legends and early history, Niebuhr, *History*, I. 541–554, *Lectures*, I. 114–121; Mommsen, I. 413, 414; Duruy, I. 179–184; Lewis, II. 15–21; Shuckburgh, 61–68; How and Leigh, 32, 33; Morey, 47–49; Ihne, 60–65.

Page 74, Chapter 9.

The Tarquinii apply to Lars Porsinna of Clusium for assistance in regaining their throne, a request which from national pride Porsinna grants. The Romans prepare for a siege.

1. Porsinnam: spelled also Porsena and Porsenna, but the

form given in the text has the best manuscript authority. — **Clusinum**: Clusium was one of the twelve powerful confederate cities of Etruria.

3. tanta: sc. *vi.* — **aequari, adesse**: the pres. for the fut. makes the thought more impressive.

4. amplum: predicate with *futurum esse* supplied, the subject being *regem esse*, etc. Porsinna thought it would be a distinction for the Etruscans if they were instrumental in restoring the rule of a king at Rome, especially if the king was of Etruscan birth.

5. suosmet: a strengthened form. — **plebs**: this element in the population of early Rome had at first no share in the government, although it was forced to serve in the army. But it steadily grew stronger and larger, and the internal history of the first two hundred years of the Republic is a history of the struggle between the plebeians and patricians. In the end the plebeians obtained admission to all the important magistracies, and caused the creation of some even to which patricians were not eligible.

6. Annonae: grain was the staple food supply of antiquity. — **Cumas**: a very ancient site eleven or twelve miles west of Naples. Campania, the district in which this city was located, was proverbially fertile. — **Salis**: see note to *salinae*, p. 42, § 9. — **venibat**: not from *venio*. — **in publicum**: the state, rather than individuals, now assumed control, and so reduced the cost. — **oneri ferendo**: dat. of purpose, *qualified to bear the burden*. — **pendere**: this is what they said. — **liberos educarent**: that is, provide soldiers.

Page 75. — 8. malis artibus: contrasted with *bene imperando*.

Chapter 10.

Horatius Cocles bravely defends the bridge against the Etruscans. When the bridge is demolished and falls crashing behind him, Horatius leaps into the stream and swims safely to the Roman side.

Read in connection with Livy's account Macaulay's "Horatius" (*Lays of Ancient Rome*).

2. pons sublicius: see note to *ponte sublicio*, p. 42, § 6. — **ni . . . fuisset**: sc. *et iter dedisset*. — **id munimentum**: it is natural to refer to a hero as a bulwark of strength.

3. Ianiculum: the long ridge on the west side of the river. To understand the situation see the map facing p. 54.

4. nequiquam: with *fugere*.

5. in primum aditum: the extreme west end of the bridge. — **inter . . . terga**: the courage of the other Romans failed them before the conflict really began. *Pugnae* is dat. case.

7. eos: Larcius and Herminius.

Page 76. — **8. servitia**: put for the concrete, *servos*. — **alienam**: sc. *libertatem*.

9. circumspectant, etc.: the details of this famous battle are vividly conceived by our historian.

13. aliquid: with *contulit*, and *victu* with *fraudans*.

Chapter 11.

Porsinna lays siege to Rome, and plunders the surrounding country. The Romans set a trap for the Etruscans and gain a temporary advantage.

2. in plano: the level space between the river and the Janiculum.

Page 77. — **5. aversissima**: because on the east side of the city.

6. et: with the same force as *Et* in p. 1, § 3. — **perfugae**: gen. case.

7. secundum lapidem: short distances from Rome were indicated by the number of milestones. — **Gabina via**: led eastward from the Porta Esquilina to Gabii. — **portam Collinam**: the second gate north of the Porta Esquilina. The Porta Naevia was on the south side of the city. The position taken by Valerius was farther east. Thus the Roman soldiers, stationed in detached groups, could attack the foraging enemy on every side.

9. Hique: Valerius and his soldiers. — **Lucretium**: perhaps this is an error of some copyist for *Valerium*.

Chapter 12.

C. Mucius crosses the Tiber and enters the enemy's camp, intending to kill Porsinna, but by mistake he slays the king's secretary instead. The Roman youth gives a remarkable exhibition of his bravery and is dismissed unharmed.

2. cum C. Mucius: on account of the numerous clauses following, this sentence is resumed in a different form below, *itaque . . .*

constituit. Cf. the note on *filii*, p. 49, § 2. — **servientem**: explained by *cum sub regibus esset*, and contrasted with *liberum*.

Page 78. — **7. quo . . . facinus**: refers to the following. Fortune blindly directed the hand of Mucius against the clerk.

8. destitutus: without friend or supporter. Livy is thinking of a Roman court of justice where men of influence appeared to support the cause of a friend by their presence merely. — **Romanus sum civis**: the proud boast of a Roman, which in the centuries following was uttered often and with effect. Note the striking rhetorical features of this speech of Mucius.

10. accingere: with the force of a middle voice, as on p. 57, § 4. — **capite dimices tuo**: *fight for your life.*

11. timueris: for the use of the subj., see note on *siris*, p. 40, § 7.

13. tibi: ethical dat., *behold* (*en*), *will you.*

Page 79. — **14. Iuberem**, etc., Porsinna would bid him in dir. disc. *macte virtute esto.* — **iure belli**: with *liberum*.

15. ut . . . tuleris: parenthetical clause of purpose, like *ne . . . teneat*, p. 34, § 5.

16. cuiusque: sc. *sors.*

Chapter 13.

Porsinna makes overtures and peace is concluded. The Romans are obliged to give hostages before the Etruscan army is withdrawn. The story of the brave maiden, Cloelia, who was one of these hostages.

1. Scaevolae: *i.e.* the "left-handed," *scaevola* being a diminutive form of *scaeva*.

3. iactatum: sc. *est, the question was raised.*

4. impetratum (*est*): sc. *a Porsinna.* — **expressa**: with *Romanis*. In spite of the heroic deed of Mucius thus proudly related, the Romans were probably forced to accept hard terms of peace as dictated by the Etruscans.

Page 80. — **8. alias**: sc. *obsides.* — **supra**, etc.: predicate, while *id facinus* is the subject of *esse*. The deed of Cloelia was greater than that of Horatius and Mucius. The subject of the infinitives in this sentence is *se* = *regem.* — **quem ad modum** = *ut.*

9. quos: the masc. suggests that only male hostages remained.

10. impubes: she revealed her modest nature by selecting boys rather than young men. — **probabile**: *approved.*

11. summa sacra via: on the elevation of the Velia, near the place where the arch of Titus now stands.

Chapter 14.

Origin of the expression, "selling the goods of Porsinna." The Etruscan king sends a force to besiege Aricia, but help arriving from Cumae, the Etruscan army is almost annihilated.

1. abhorrens: *inconsistent.* The regular construction of *abhorreo* is with *ab* and the abl. case. — **sollemnia**: formalities in the sale of public booty.

3. vero: dat. case with *proximum.*

4. ea: refers grammatically to *castra,* but the property left in the camp is meant.

Page 81. — 5. Ariciam: on the slope of the Alban hills, fifteen miles southeast of Rome. It seems probable that after imposing terms of surrender on the Romans, the Etruscans spread southward over Latium in a campaign of conquest, but were unable to cross the Alban hills.

6. Cumis: this ancient city was an old enemy of the Etruscans.

7. praelatos: *prae* = *praeter.* The allies from Cumae turned aside until the Etruscans passed by, and then they attacked their rear.

9. Tuscum vicum: this street connected the Velabrum with the Forum. It entered the Forum between the temple of Castor and the Basilica Julia.

Chapter 15.

Porsinna sends an embassy to Rome to treat for the last time concerning the restoration of the Tarquinii. The Romans express their firm but courteous refusal to consider the matter.

2. non quin: *not that . . . not,* contrasted with *sed ut,* which introduces the real purpose. — **ideo**: repeats the reason contained in *non quin . . . potuerit.*

Page 82. — ille: *Porsinna.* — **cui**: antecedent to be supplied is *ei* = *Porsinnae.*

5. verecundia: *respect* for the noble spirit the Romans manifested.

7. Tusculum: on the northern slopes of the Alban hills, about seventeen miles from Rome. The fact is mentioned in Book I. 49, that Mamilius married a daughter of Tarquinius.

BOOK II, CHAPTERS 19, 20

The Battle of Lake Regillus (499 B.C.?)

Parallel Reading: On the legend and early history, Niebuhr, *History*, I. 555–562, *Lectures*, I. 121–125; Mommsen, I. 438; Lewis, II. 29–31; Shuckburgh, 70, 71; How and Leigh, 33, 34; Morey, 49; Botsford, 38, 39; Ihne, 65.

Read also Macaulay's "Battle of Lake Regillus" (*Lays of Ancient Rome*).

Chapter 19.

The Roman and Latin armies meet in hostile array at Lake Regillus in the territory of Tusculum. Tarquinius Superbus and Octavius Mamilius take part in the ensuing battle.

2. His consulibus: in 500 B.C. — **Praeneste** (modern Palestrina) an important stronghold in antiquity. It lay about twenty-three miles east of Rome, on a projecting spur of the Sabine mountains. — **bellum Latinum**: under the rule of the Tarquins Rome had established a supremacy among the towns of Latium, the Prisci Latini. This leadership was apparently lost during the period of confusion and reconstruction following the expulsion of the kings; and the battle of Lake Regillus was one of the first attempts to reëstablish her supremacy. On the side of the Latins the struggle seems to have been inspired largely by the adherents of the party of the Tarquins.

3. dictator: an extraordinary magistrate appointed only in times of great emergency. The dictator exercised absolute and undisputed authority. His assistant, whom he appointed, was called the *magister equitum*. — **lacum Regillum**: the site has been more or less definitely identified a little below the modern town of Frascati.

5. non: with *modo*.

Page 83. — ipsi: *duces*.

7. fefellit: *escape the notice of.*

10. Latinus dux: Mamilius.

Chapter 20.

Details of the battle. The Latins are at length beaten back, and their camp is captured by the Romans.

1. Publicolae: P. Valerius Publicola, who assisted in expelling the Tarquins.

2. eiecti reges, (*reges*) interfecti: the participles express the leading idea of the phrase, *the expulsion of the kings*, etc. *Decus* is predicate.

Page 84. — 5. ancipiti: they feared both the enemy and the Roman soldiers who composed the bodyguard of Postumius.

12. aedem Castori: dedicated in 484 B.C. According to tradition the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) assisted the Romans at the battle of Lake Regillus, and afterward brought the news of the victory to Rome, appearing in the Forum near the site of their future temple.

BOOK II, CHAPTERS 23–33. 3.

The Struggle between the Orders and the Election of the Tribune of the Plebs (495–493 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the constitutional antiquities, Abbott, 28, 196–202; Greenidge, 89–100; Granrud, 39–47; Taylor, 45–74; Mommsen, I. 341–357; Niebuhr, *History*, I. 571–626, *Lectures*, I. 128–146; Lewis, II. 57–84; Duruy, I. 152–178; Shuckburgh, 93–98; How and Leigh, 52–56; Botsford, 72–74; Pelham, 45–57; Morey, 50–55; Ihne, 140–145.

Chapter 23.

The unfortunate condition of the plebeian debtors is illustrated by a concrete example. They appeal to the consuls, demanding that a meeting of the senate be called to redress their wrongs. After much trepidation the senate convenes, but no action is taken because of disagreement among its members.

Page 85. — 1. nexos ob aes alienum: a plebeian debtor, who failed to pay his creditor within a prescribed time, came into the power of

his creditor and remained in his power until the debt was paid. But as a poor plebeian, once in debt, found it next to impossible to pay, he became a mere dependent of the powerful patrician landholder. Such a plebeian was called *nexus*.

4. ad hoc: = *praeterea*. — **ordines duxisse**: he had been centurion. — **adverso pectore**: he was facing the enemy when he was wounded.

5. propter populationes, etc.: the lot of the poor plebeians was particularly hard, because not only were they forced to serve in the army, but during their absence their cattle might be driven off and their property destroyed. Protection of their property during such an enforced absence was, therefore, among the first things the plebeians demanded. See below, p. 87, § 6.

6. cumulatum: not being able to pay the war tax (*tributum*) which was levied, he had been forced to borrow, and the interest added to the unpaid principal had increased his indebtedness, so that with all his scanty means he could not free himself. — **in servitium**: the poor debtor retained his rights as a free citizen, but since his creditor could imprison him and even scourge him, his condition was little better than that of a slave.

8. vincti: some *nexi* were in chains even.

Page 86. — **fidem**: *protection*.

11. meritos: bitterly ironical. — **alius alibi** := *alius alio in loco*.

13. patrum: part. gen. with *ei* (supplied), the antecedent of *qui*.

15. uno . . . alios: the remedy of Appius. His spirit illustrates well the general attitude of the patricians.

Chapter 24.

News having been brought that the Volscians are approaching with a hostile army, the plebs refuse to enlist, until the consul Servilius, at the bidding of the senate, promises measures of relief.

Page 87. — **2. ne nomina darent**: the plebeians well understood that their services in war were absolutely essential, that here, then, was an opportunity to force their rights. — **patres . . . patres**: the repetition expresses scorn.

3. ancipiti: explained by *et ab cive et ab hoste*.

4. contionem: of the plebs. — **illa**: *i.e. plebis*.

5. non cepisse: *refuse to take up*.

6. nominis edendi: cf. *nomina dare* above. — **militis**: depends upon *bona*. Servilius declares that while the plebeians are in the field their property and families will be unmolested.

Chapter 25.

The Volscians are defeated and their camp taken and plundered.

1. si . . . posset: *to see if*, with *temptant*.

Page 88. — 2. reliquum: used substantively.

3. militem; sing. for the pl. Cf. *pedes* and *eques* below.

5. ad: why is the prep. used with the name of a town? **Inde**: from the *praeda*.

7. Ecetranorum: a Volscian tribe.

Chapter 26.

Successes are gained against the Sabines and the Aurunci.

1. verius: *it was in truth rather*, etc.

3. legio: see note to this word, p. 13, § 1.

Page 89. — 5. haud procul ab Aricia: the army of the Aurunci had already entered Latium. — **nec consuli**, etc.: there was not time for a meeting of the senate and if there had been, they would not have submitted to the demand of the Aurunci.

Chapter 27.

The army having returned victorious, the plebs await the fulfillment of the promises made by Servilius, but under the leadership of the consul Appius, the senate refuses to make good its word. Much ill feeling is displayed on both sides.

1. Romanus: the plebs. — **consulis**: Servilius was the one who had made the promises. — **ut . . . fidem**: Appius was perhaps jealous of his colleague, but the members of the Claudian *gens* were well known throughout the early history of Rome for their haughty manners and unconcealed contempt for the lower classes. — **quam . . . poterat**: with *dicere*. This hist. inf. (*dicere*) with *cum* is worthy of note. We should regularly expect the indic. B. 288. 2; A. 546. *a*; H. 600. I. 1; G. 581; H.B. 566. *a*.

3. in alteram causam: Appius and the *nobiles* were determined to treat the *nexi* as before. Servilius was influenced by this fact, and was unwilling to intercede in their behalf.

5. praeesse annonae: later this important charge of the grain supply for the city's consumption was delegated to a regularly appointed officer, the *praefectus annonae*. — **mercatorum collegium**: such a guild of merchants was appropriately established at this time, since Mercury was their patron god. Members of the guild were called *mercuriales*. — **sollemnia**: the dedicatory rites.

Page 90. — 6. appareret: expresses a possibility — in past time, — any one might readily understand that it (*quod*) had been done, etc.

10. ambitionem: for the meaning of this word (and of *ambitiosum*, above, p. 89, § 4), see note to *ambitio*, p. 44, § 6. — **dixisset**, etc.: the subject of the three verbs is *Servilius* to be supplied. — **ut . . . haberet**: substantive clause.

12. provocavit: in the first year of the republic (509 B.C.) a law was passed securing to the people the right of appeal in cases of life and death. — **adeo . . . animi**: *such an excess of courage did he have.*

Chapter 28.

In the following year, the disturbances continuing, the consuls apply to the senate for advice, but the *patres* in anger charge the consuls with incompetency. The latter attempt to hold a levy, but the plebs refuse to enlist.

Page 91. — 2. clamoribus, etc.: the *patres* were angry that the consuls referred to the senate a matter which they should have settled with a firm hand themselves.

3. magistratus: *real* magistrates.

6. tribunal: a raised platform on which the consuls sat while exercising their functions. — **iuniores**: who performed the active military service.

Page 92. — 9. ad quod tuendum: the consuls were either cautious or weak-hearted; at any rate both they and the *patres* hesitated to arouse further the already angry plebs.

Chapter 29.

The consuls try to make a test case of a plebeian who refused to enlist, but the plebeian is protected by his friends. The senate

meets and discusses the situation. Appius Claudius with characteristic arrogance recommends that a dictator be appointed.

1. Utraque re: whether to persist in making the levy themselves, or to ask the senate for advice and assistance.

2. lictorem: the lictor, somewhat like the policeman of modern days, carried out the will of the executive officer where force was necessary.

4. nihil aliud: adverbial acc. The mob offered no violence to the lictor, but simply prevented him from causing the arrest.

5. quaestionem: a formal investigation and trial of those who had roughly treated the senators.

7. vulgabat: Verginius would not offer relief to all the plebs.

Page 93.— 9. turbarum: with *antum*. — **lascivire . . . saevire**; the intentional similarity of the ending heightens the contrast.

10. ad eos: *i.e.* the people.

12. mihi: then he'll strike the lictor, *I think;* ethical dat., which accords well with the ironical tone. — **de tergo**: the right to scourge.

Chapter 30.

The opinion of Appius prevailing, M'. Valerius, a man of merciful spirit, is elected dictator. Operations against the Aequi and Volsci are conducted successfully.

1. Vergini Larcique: sc. *sententiae*. — **exemplo**: it would be a bad precedent. — **esse eam**: *haud salubrem*. — **totam fidem**: public credit would be destroyed if securities on loans were thus canceled. — **utroque**: *in both respects* in which the other two opinions were open to criticism.

2. factione: the party of Appius. The following clause, *respectu*, etc., refers to the interests of the creditors.

5. fratris: P. Valerius Publicola. See note to *provocavit*, p. 90, § 12.

Page 94. — 9. loco: with *freti*.

10. et ipse: as did Vetusius.

11. superabant: the Volscian force was larger than the Roman.

13. impressionem: *resistance* by the Romans.

14. adepti: sc. *sunt*. The Romans *overtook* the weary Volscians.

Chapter 31.

The dictator routs the Sabines and plunders their camp. On the

return of the army to Rome Valerius attempts to secure justice for the debtors, but is unsuccessful, and resigns his office.

2. dum . . . pandunt, etc.: a disproportionate number of soldiers was stationed on the wings, leaving the line in between thinner and so weaker.

Page 95. — 7. faeneratores: men who made a business of advancing loans at high rates of interest. — **quae**: sc. *ea* as antecedent. The rel. clause expresses purpose.

8. primam: sc. *actionem*, a general word for any *measure*. The technical word used in bringing a measure before the senate was *relatio* (suggested by the word *rettulit*). The following expression *quid . . . fieri placeret* is also the regular formula.

Page 96. — 11. suam vicem: *on their account; suam = plebis.* — **praestaretur**: sc. *fides*.

Chapter 32.

The plebs secede to the Mons Sacer, three miles north of the city. The *patres*, stricken with fear, send Menenius Agrippa to treat with them, and he relates to them the fable of the members of the body.

1. in consulum verba: they had taken the oath dictated by the consuls and so were bound by allegiance to them.

2. religionem: the oath was a *religious obligation*. — **Sacrum montem**: this hill is identified with an elevation near the Via Nomentana, just east of the point where the road crosses the Anio river.

5. plebes: who remained in Rome. — **Quamdiu autem**, etc.: the reflections of the *patres*.

8. inde: *ex plebe*. — **horrido**: *rough, unadorned*. The following story of the members of the body is of very ancient origin in the human race, and occurs elsewhere in ancient literature. Cf. Paul's Letters to the Corinthians, I. 12. 14–27.

Page 97, Chapter 33.

Negotiations for a settlement of difficulties are entered into and the plebeians secure the election of a new officer entirely their own, called the tribune of the plebs.

1. magistratus: the creation of this magistracy, the tribunate

of the plebs, is most significant of the power which the plebeians were beginning to exert. The person of a tribune was inviolable (*sacrosanctus*) and any one guilty of violating his person might be put to death with impunity. The duty of the officer was to champion the interests of the plebs, collectively and individually (*auxilii latio*), and he could punish with death even any magistrate who persisted in a course harmful to the plebs which the tribune had forbidden. As time went on the power of the tribune greatly increased. At first there were five, but this number was later increased to ten.

2. fuisse: sc. *convenit.*

BOOK III, CHAPTERS 26. 3–29. 7

The Dictatorship of Cincinnatus (458 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the legend and early history, Niebuhr, *History*, II. 263–271, *Lectures*, I. 180–184; Duruy, I. 193–196; Lewis, II. 175–180; Shuckburgh, 75, 76; How and Leigh, 61, 62, 65; Botsford, 41, 42; Ihne, 159–162.

Page 98, Chapter 26.

A Roman army under the command of a consul having been surrounded by the Aequi and held in a state of siege, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus is named dictator. The messengers, sent to inform him of his appointment, find him on his farm engaged in manual labor.

3. Minucio: the history of Rome during the fifth century B.C. is marked by continual struggles with her neighbors on the south and east, the Volscians, Aequians, and Sabines. These struggles are recounted at length by our historian. Out of the monotonous details several incidents stand out conspicuously, among them the story of Cincinnatus. In the year 458 B.C. the Aequians and and Sabines engaged again in one of their periodical raids on Roman territory. Against the former the consul Lucius Minucius was sent; against the latter, the consul Gaius Nautius. Nautius was more successful than his colleague. — **eadem:** as did his colleague Nautius against the Sabines.

6. arcessunt: i.e. *ex Sabinis*.

7. qui: antecedent is *eis*, to be supplied with *pretium est*.

8. navalia: docks for ships of war; they were located on the east side of the Tiber a short distance above the island. — **iugerum**: the *iugerum* was a space of ground 240 ft. by 120 ft., that is, about two thirds of the English statute acre. — **prata Quinctia**: the transtiberine district long retained its rural character.

Page 99. — 9. togatus: as the formality of the occasion required. — **satin salve**: see note to these words, p. 71, § 7.

11. domum: in the city.

12. tam laeta: as did the *patres*. — **nimium**: a noun.

Chapter 27.

The next day the dictator asserts his authority. An army is raised and equipped, and marches to Algidum by midnight.

1. pedibus: he served in the infantry.

2. iustitium: this required the suspension of all public business, especially fiscal and judicial business.

7. adderent, etc.: the *adhortationes*.

Page 100. — 8. signifer: who advanced naturally at the head. — **Algidum**: it was on Mount Algidus (southeast of Rome) that the Aequians had at first encamped, and had later drawn a complete line of investment around the camp of the Romans.

Chapter 28.

The besieging army of the Aequi is in turn surrounded with works of investment by the dictator. Thus inclosed between two armies, the Aequi are forced to surrender and are sent under the yoke.

1. tractus: the situation and extent of the enemy's camp, which surrounded the entire Roman camp. — **in ordines suos**: the soldiers first deposited their personal baggage in one place, and then with the necessary implements returned to their proper places in the ranks.

2. ducere, etc.: the entire Aequian camp was thus to be surrounded by a trench and palisade.

3. superat: *passes beyond*.

5. Consul: Minucius.

7. vacuam . . . dedere: that is, they permitted the newly arrived Roman army to devote the night without interruption to the completion of the line of circumvallation. The Aequians in the meantime engaged the besieged army.

Page 101. — 8. vallum: of the Aequian camp. — **remiserat:** the struggle with the army of the consul was not at all relaxed.

Chapter 29.

Cincinnatus returns to Rome in triumph, his army laden with spoil, and resigns the dictatorship on the sixteenth day after having received it.

3. meliori: = *superiori.* — **animus:** of the whole army of Minucius.

4. quo . . . agmine: in the order in which he arrived, without re-forming the line of procession.

Page 102. — 5. epulantes: the soldiers. — **sollemnibus:** *customary.*

6. civitas data est: because of services Mamilius had rendered in recovering the Capitol, which had been seized by Aulus Herdonius the Sabine. — **M. Volsci:** this man had given false testimony against Caeso Quinctius, the son of the dictator. — **Lanuvium:** in the Alban hills, twenty miles south of Rome.

BOOK III, CHAPTERS 33–58

The Rule of the Decemvirs (451–449 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the legends and early history, Niebuhr, *History*, II. 311–358, *Lectures*, I. 193–209; Mommsen, I. 361–369; Duruy, I. 201–228; Lewis, II. 194–252; Shuckburgh, 101–108; How and Leigh, 65–72; Pelham, 57–67; Morey, 59–62; Botsford, 76–80; Ihne, 165–175.

On the constitutional antiquities, Abbott, 30–33; Greenidge, 102–111; Granrud, 50–57; Taylor, 74–91.

Chapter 33.

Decemvirs are elected for the purpose of codifying the laws. The office of consul and tribune are suspended, and the decemvirs administer justice fairly.

1. Anno trecentesimo altero: 451 B.C. — **decemviros:** previous to this time justice had been administered in accordance with customs and traditions handed down by word of mouth. There was as yet no codification of the laws. A patrician magistrate could render an unfair decision, and there was no written law to which a poor plebeian could turn in his own defense. This state of things naturally caused controversies which increased the hostility between the two orders. After much dissension it was decided to appoint a board of ten men, to whom both consuls and tribunes were to give place, to draw up and publish a code of laws. As a preliminary step three commissioners were sent to Athens to study the best codes in Greece. This was the time of the supremacy of Pericles, when Athens was at the height of her prosperity. — **insignis:** *remarkable.*

2. enim: introduces the reason for *non diuturna.* — **magistratus:** gen. case. — **repetitum:** explained by the clause following.

4. designati: before action had been taken concerning the decemvirs. — **eam rem:** the election of decemvirs and the codification of the laws.

6. ceteri: all the decemvirs were patricians.

7. Regimen: *direction;* resulting from the strong personality of Appius.

Page 103. — **insectatore plebis:** thus he had shown himself to be in the past.

8. Decumo: that is, every tenth day. — **qui consensus:** referring to *concordia* as antecedent.

9. sine: *without* (the right of). — **rei:** gen. of *reus.* — **decessit suo iure:** he had the legal right to pass judgment at once upon Sestius, and was not compelled to prosecute the case before the people.

Chapter 34.

Ten Tables of the laws are drawn up and after correction are approved by the people. Two Tables remain to be codified, making it necessary to elect the decemvirs for another year.

1. pariter: justice was dispensed impartially.

2. quod bonum, etc.: the formal proclamation. See note to these words, p. 20, § 10.

5. iussisse: *ratified*, so that the people themselves might seem to have originated and proposed the laws, not simply to have approved those which others had framed.

6. capite: *section* or *chapter*. — **qui nunc . . . fons omnis publici privatique est iuris**: an interesting observation on the value, in the mind of a Roman, of this early code. Read the article Twelve Tables in Harper's *Classical Dictionary*.

Page 104. — 8. ne tribunicium quidem: the plebs did not feel the need of the tribune's office since the decemvirs seemed to respect their rights.

Chapter 35.

Before the election Appius Claudius, who was leader of the decemvirs, makes great efforts to curry popular favor; and he secures, not only the reëlection of himself, but the election also of a new board of decemvirs altogether inferior to the old one.

1. in trinum nundinum: this amounted to at least seventeen days, since the nundinal period, or the time between market days, was eight days.

2. impugnatum: the patricians had at first opposed the proposition made by the plebs to elect officers to codify the laws.

3. Demissa . . . dignitas: the whole phrase is the subject of *stimulabat*. — **Nescires, numerares**: the indefinite second person = *one would not know*, etc. The object, supplied, of *numerares* is *eum=Appium*.

4. criminari, etc.: Appius sought to gain his end by currying the favor of the plebs.

6. in ordinem:=*in plebem*. — **cogere et vulgari**: subject of *esse*.

7. obviam ire: *oppose*. — **obsecundando**: sc. *ei* (*Appio*), expresses the manner of *adgrediuntur*.

Page 105. — 9. impedimentum: the fact of his presiding at the election was not an *obstacle*, but an opportunity (*occasio*). — **pares**: as compared with the individuals just mentioned.

Chapter 36.

Appius now throws off the mask and with his associates enters upon an administration of injustice and oppression.

1. Ille finis, etc.: Appius now threw off the mask and assumed

his real character. He had irregularly secured his own reëlection on the board of decemvirs for the second year, and had found means of replacing the old members of the preceding year with inconspicuous men whom he easily made his creatures. There followed a reign of injustice and oppression.

2. impotentibus: *tyrannical.* — **rari aditus**: gen. This and *colloquentibus difficiles* illustrate *haud dissimulando superbiam.*

3. honoris: *office.* — **suam cuiusque vicem**: *each in his turn.*

4. sine provocatione: since there was no right of appeal from the decision of the decemvirs, they possessed the power of life and death, and this power was symbolized by the presence of the axe in the fasces.

Page 106. — 6. tulissent = *passi essent.*

7. lubidinose: *arbitrarily.* — **Hominum**, etc.: they regarded the man, not the question involved; with them the ability to do a favor took the place of justice.

8. conflabant: notice the derogatory figure, *they forged.* — **Si quis**, etc.: if any one, dissatisfied with the decision of one decemvir, appealed to another, he received even less justice from the one appealed to, so that he was sorry he had not abided by the decision of the first.

9. in: with *iniuriam.*

Chapter 37.

The plebs especially are oppressed. They cherish the hope that at the end of the official year, the duties of the decemvirs having been performed, the plebeian tribuneship will be restored to them.

1. plebei: contracted from *plebeii* (nom. pl.).

2. Primores: subject of the infinitives following. — **haud indignis**: the plebeians.

Page 107. — 5. id modo: placed in an emphatic position. — **fieri**: the hist. inf. is used rarely with *cum* or *cum interim.* See note to *cum*, p. 89, § 1.

6. Eorum: *i.e. patriciorum iuvenum.* Appius had feigned sympathy with popular interests, but he was at heart an aristocrat.

7. ferre agere: asyndeton. These words are often used in describing the treatment of the enemy.

Chapter 38.

But on the Ides of May no new elections are announced. The plebs are despondent. Danger from the enemy without force the decemvirs to call a meeting of the senate.

1. subrogatis: *elected.* — **imminutis**: with both *animis* and *insignibus.*

2. ipsi: the people — **indignabantur**: i.e. *finitimi populi.*

3. quod: antecedent is *agmine.*

Page 108. — 7. congesturos, etc.: the thought of the decemvirs.

10. circa: a preposition. — **ipsi** = *decemviri*, while *consensu* is to be taken with *interpretarentur.* The decemvirs explained their failure to convene the senate by the unpopularity with which their despotic rule was regarded; the plebs explained it by the general belief that the decemvirs, being private citizens, had no right to call the senate together.

11. omissa . . . cura: abl. abs.

12. pignera: in order to enforce attendance on meetings of the senate, the proper magistrate could seize articles of a senator's property as pledges. — **Laetius**, etc.: because it looked as if the simple reason why the senators failed to assemble was that they were out of town.

Page 109. — 13. si vis abesset: closely with *privatis.*

Chapter 39.

The decemvirs are fiercely attacked in a speech by M. Horatius Barbatus.

4. nominis: i.e. *regis.* — **deincepsque**: *and the following.* — **retentum sit**: the *rex sacrorum.*

7. in iniusta dominatione: some word like *retinenda* is to be supplied, suggested by *vindicanda.*

Page 110. — 9. rogitare: sc. *se* (= *Horatium*).

Chapter 40.

Other opinions alike unfavorable to the decemvirs are expressed. Finally a brother of one of the decemvirs attempts to divert attention from them by proposing that for the present all other matters except the impending war be laid aside.

1. nec irae nec ignoscendi modum: the decemvirs did not

know how far to go, either in their anger so as not to arouse still further the excited feelings of the senators, or in their forbearance of what had already been said so as not to appear weak.

3. cum: concessive. The verb expresses an attempted action.

7. Censendo, etc.: by voting any measure whatsoever (*quodcumque*) they admitted the magisterial authority of the decemvirs. — **auctor . . . faciendi**: Claudius.

Page 111. — **9. qui**: the antecedent is the subject of *oppugnarent*. — **petissent**: *had been candidates for*. — **hi**: Valerius, Horatius, Claudius.

11. verum: *fair*.

12. rationem: relating, as the following shows, simply to the duration of the office.

Chapter 41.

This opinion prevailed, and after some further commotion in the senate a levy was announced and an army enrolled.

1. In hanc sententiam . . . evincebant: the *iuniores* forced a vote on the motion of Cornelius, which apparently carried.

Page 112. — **4. Quiritium**: the people on the outside of the senate house. — **non cui**, etc. = *non ei cui consulere simulabat consulendo*. Cornelius seemed to be acting in the interests of Valerius, but was in reality protecting Appius. — **non ultra vocem**: that is, not as far as action.

8. In Fabio, etc.: Fabius possessed a character that was lacking in steadfastness in the right rather than active in evil. He would, therefore, be perfectly willing to allow Appius to follow his own inclinations. The negative idea in *minus* is to be taken with *constans*.

Page 113, Chapter 42.

The Roman soldiers, being disaffected, meet with reverses.

2. noxia: practically synonymous with *culpa*.

4. tutabantur: sc. *se*.

5. utensilibus: the various belongings of the soldier, weapons and food.

Chapter 43.

The decemvirs cause the murder of Lucius Siccius.

2. secessionis: in the vicinity was the Mons Sacer, which recalled the first secession (p. 96, § 2).

Page 114.—7. ni . . . maturassent: sc. *et Romam Siccium tulissent.*

Chapter 44.

Appius, inflamed with passion for a maiden, the daughter of L. Verginius, commands one of his dependants, M. Claudius, to claim the girl formally as his slave. This Claudius does. The friends of Verginia beg Appius to postpone judgment until her father can be present.

Read, in connection with Livy's account, Macaulay's "Virginia" (*Lays of Ancient Rome*), and the tragedy, *Virginia*, by J. S. Knowles.

1. quod: sc. some such word as *nefas* as antecedent.

2. honestum ordinem . . . ducebat: Verginius was a centurion of honorable rank.

Page 115.—5. secundum libertatem postulantibus vindicias: the formal expression with which a claim of the free birth of an individual was made before a magistrate. If the magistrate allowed the claim, he was said *secundum libertatem dare vindicias* (cf. below, § 12). The preferring of such a claim seems to have been authorized by one of the Twelve Tables the decemvirs had drawn up, *lege ab ipso lata*, § 12. Appius thought that because of the absence of Verginius the law could be safely violated.

6. in tabernis: both the north and south sides of the Forum were lined with wooden shops, some of which were occupied by butchers and vegetable dealers. In one of these shops was the school.

7. nutricis: children were not allowed to go to school unattended.

9. ut sequeretur: with *auctoribus.*

10. ad quem . . . pertineat: because the girl, really a slave (according to the assertion of Claudius), had been passed off as the daughter of Verginius.

11. advocati: friends who spoke for Verginia.

Chapter 45.

The decemvir interprets the law to his own advantage. Icilius,

to whom Verginia was betrothed, appears and protests loudly against the injustice of Appius.

1. quam . . . faverit: with *declarare*.

Page 116. — 2. in iis, etc.: Appius for his purpose interprets the law to apply only to those individuals who are free to act (*sui iuris*). The case is different with one who is under the legal control of a father (*in patria potestate*), as the girl is alleged to be by her friends. But since the father is absent, and she is not *sui iuris*, Appius can do nothing but give her temporarily to the man who claims her as his slave. — **id iuris esse**: *this is right, quia . . . possit.* — **alium**: than the father.

5. decresse: sc. *Appium*.

6. tacitum: *i.e.* without opposition.

11. condicionem: *match*.

Page 117, Chapter 46.

A disturbance threatening to arise, Appius announces that he will defer his decision until the next day. Messengers are dispatched at full speed to summon Verginius.

2. tribunatum . . . spirantem: *breathing the spirit of a tribune*.

5. secessissent: *had withdrawn aside* (to take counsel). — **recta**: sc. *via*.

7. instaret: sc. *Icilio*. — **sponsores**: that Verginia would appear in court next day. — **praeciperent**: in advance of messengers who were sure to be sent with instructions by Appius also (see below, § 9).

9. sedisse: sc. *in tribunali*.

Page 118, Chapter 47.

Verginius arrives, but in spite of his entreaties, Appius renders a decision declaring the maiden to be the slave of M. Claudius.

1. sordidatus, obsoleta veste: signs of grief.

2. capta: sc. *urbe*.

4. verius: equivalent to *potius*. — **petitore**: Claudius.

5. decresse, etc.: Livy does not know what preliminary statement Appius made, but his decision at any rate was that the girl was the slave of Claudius.

Page 119. — 7. isti: those standing by.

Chapter 48.

In the presence of Appius and the assembled crowd Verginius stabs his daughter to save her from disgrace. He himself escapes.

1. alienatus . . . animo: *deprived of reason in consequence of his passion.* — **negat**: the negation belongs with the first clause only, = *dicit non . . . tantum, . . . sed quoque.*

2. descendisse: sc. *in forum.*

4. quo: *in any degree.*

5. Cloacinae: sc. *sacellum* (see note on *Murciae*, p. 42, § 5). A small round base, recently brought to light close to the south side of the Basilica Aemilia, has been identified as the foundation of this shrine. See Hülsen, *The Roman Forum*, 132–134. — **novis**: on the north side of the Forum, so called because rebuilt after a fire in 210 B.C.

On the story of Verginia see Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, pp. 185–203.

Page 120, Chapter 49.

Great excitement prevails in the Forum. Appius in fear of his life secretly departs. The senate convenes.

1. sceleris: sc. *Appi.*

4. escendit: to some elevated place whence to address the people. Possibly the Volcanal, at the west end of the Forum, was thought of. See Hülsen, *The Roman Forum*, pp. 80–82.

5. pro imperio: *authoritatively*, as if formally empowered by the people.

6. ex altera parte: the east end of the Forum.

Page 121. — ex omni parte . . . trepidaverat: Appius became excited and confused, since he was surrounded on every side by citizens who advised him what was the best thing to do.

Chapter 50.

Verginius flees to the army on Mount Vecilius and with his story arouses his fellow-soldiers to the highest pitch of excitement. They return to Rome and take up their position on the Aventine.

1. monte Vecilio: evidently an elevation on Mount Algidus.

3. togae: of the citizens as distinguished from soldiers. — **quam erat**: *than it really was.*

Page 122. — 9. alia violentia: as an attempt to imprison him.

10. profligatam: the matter was settled, the rule of the decemvirs at an end.

11. qui . . . dicerent: this false report was probably based on the sudden disappearance of Appius from the Forum (Chap. 49, § 5).

12. imperium . . . inhiberet: contrasted with *leniter agentibus.*

13. Aventinum: where the plebs for the most part resided.

14. ab ipsis: the decemvirs and the patricians.

15. senatus verbis: *i.e.* in the name of the senate.

Page 123. — 16. nullodum: in compounds of negative force: *dum* has the force of *as yet.*

Chapter 51.

The army on the Aventine elects ten military tribunes, and is joined by the army that had been encamped in the Sabine territory.

1. paulo ante: when the representatives of the senate waited on them (Chap. 50, § 16) they were embarrassed (*trepidatum*) to know what to do.

3. melioribus: contains an element of time.

4. proximi: *most subject to.*

7. Sicci: see Chap. 43.

8. praerogativam: sc. *centuriam;* this was the name given later to the *centuria* of the first class which was the first to cast its vote. The vote of this *centuria* often determined the vote of the rest, and since Icilius knew how the people were accustomed to do (*peritus rerum popularium*) and since he desired the office of military tribune himself (*imminens ei potestati*), he wished to secure this end by having an equal number of tribunes elected also from the army that had opposed the Sabines. — **urbana:** contrasted with *militarium.*

Page 124. — 12. militiae: gen. case. — **quo:** sc. *magistratu.* The third year of the decemvirate was unauthorized.

Chapter 52.

The plebeians secede a second time to the Mons Sacer. The decemvirs are forced to yield, but beg to be protected from the fury of the people.

2. scituros: sc. *patres.*

3. patrum suorum: referring to the first secession (p. 96, § 2). — **plebs**: *the (rest of the) plebs*, since the army also consisted of plebs.

5. vasta: *desolate, empty.*

Page 125. — 8. Atqui: *well, then.*

10. ne = *nedum, much less.* — **cum praesertim**, etc.: we (the decemvirs) did not make moderate use of our power, so that the plebs might not feel the need of a tribune.

11. id modo simul orant: the decemvirs cowardly acknowledge their former injustice.

Chapter 53.

The plebeians demand the restoration to them of the office of tribune and of the right of appeal.

4. concisse = *concivisse.*

Page 126. — 6. consilii: predicate gen. of quality. — **ultro**: by us, without your asking for it.

7. Irae vestrae, etc.: referring to their attitude toward the decemvirs.

9. Scuto vobis: *i.e.* you need the protection afforded by such an officer as the tribune. — **Satis superque humilis est**: the decemvirs will be sufficiently punished if they are removed from their office and put on an equal footing with other citizens, where they can do no injustice.

Chapter 54.

The demands of the people are granted, and the decemvirs resign their office, to the great joy of all.

1. Facerent: the subjunctive without *ut* is occasionally used with *permittere.*

3. invidia praecipua: Appius was a *special object of hatred.* — **ignaro**: sc. *mihi.*

5. primo quoque tempore = *quam primum.* — **crearet**: i.e. *hold the election for.*

Page 127. — 7. Legatos: who officially carried the news to the plebeian camp.

8. pro: *before* (expressing place).

11. avunculum: according to Chap. 45, § 4, Numitorius was the father-in-law of Verginius.

12. progeniem eius: see p. 97, § 2.

Page 128. — 15. in pratis Flaminiis: the district immediately west of the Capitoline hill.

Chapter 55.

The rights of the people are safeguarded.

2. credebant: sc. *patres*.

3. Omnium primum: in this chapter reference is made to the passing of a series of laws, the Leges Valeriae Horatiae, which mark a great advance in the growth of plebeian power. — **tulere:** sc. *consules*. The exact import of this law is not clear. It can hardly be supposed, however, that by this law a *plebiscitum*, passed by the plebeian tribal assembly, had a binding power on the whole community (this did not happen until 287 B.C.), but it was probably henceforth valid under certain conditions, as for example, if it had the approval of the senate (*auctoritas patrum*). — **telum acerrimum:** because the tribune could initiate legislation.

5. novam legem: this law assured the perpetuity of the right of appeal.

6. ut . . . viderentur: object of *renovarunt*. This law re-established the inviolability of the tribune's person. — **caerimoniis:** we do not know what these were.

7. caput Iovi sacrum: i.e. *eum ius fasque occidi*. The life of the accused was offered up to Jupiter, the giver of life, and his property to the gods whose gifts nourish the human race.

8. qui . . . nocuerit: according to the legal experts of Livy's time, personal injury alone constituted ground for applying the law regarding inviolability.

Page 129. — 12. praetorem: this was the early name for the chief executive officer.

13. Institutum, etc.: most important, for henceforth decrees of the senate were made accessible to plebeians.

Chapter 56.

Appius Claudius is brought to trial by Verginius for having rendered a decision declaring a free person to be a slave.

1. tutum maturumque: sc. *esse*, of which *adgredi* is subject.

3. dubiis: the case concerning Appius is not a question involving doubt.

4. gratiam facio: *allow, remit.*

Page 130. — **dices**: *name.*

12. quos oderint: the decemvirs.

Page 131, Chapter 57.

Appius is cast into prison.

Page 132. — **9. voluntariorum**: *consisting of volunteers*, a gen. of apposition with *pars*.

Chapter 58.

C. Claudius intercedes for his kinsman begging that mercy be shown him, but in vain. Appius commits suicide, and the shade of Verginia, avenged, rests in peace.

1. C. Claudius: see Chap. 40.

2. imaginis: see the note to this word, p. 43, § 6.

4. id dare: *i.e.* granted pardon. — **generi ac nomini**: of the Claudii. — **eo**: Appius.

Page 133. — **8. plus**: with *invidiae*, obj. of *fecit*. — **reus**: i.e. *Appius*.

10. ultimam poenam: i.e. *mortem*.

BOOK V, CHAPTERS 21, 22

The Fall of Veii (396 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the legend and early history, Niebuhr, *History*, II. 467–487, *Lectures*, I. 243–250; Mommsen, I. 425–427; Duruy, I. 244–254; Lewis, II. 297–321; Shuckburgh, 83–88; How and Leigh, 77–84; Morey, 66, 67; Botsford, 42, 43; Ihne, 194–201; see also, for a description of the site in modern times, Baedeker, *Central Italy* (Edition 1904), pp. 432, 433; Hare, *Days near Rome*, I, 133-141.

Page 134, Chapter 21.

The city of Veii is taken and plundered.

1. Ingens multitudo: invited to take part in the plundering of Veii. — **dictator**: M. Furius Camillus.

2. Pythice Apollo: the Roman senate had consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi about a matter (the draining of the Alban Lake) which concerned the capture of Veii.

3. Veios: situated only twelve miles away on the north. Veii had been for centuries a vigorous and powerful rival of Rome. The territories of these two rising cities were contiguous. Veii was supported usually by the Etruscan confederation of twelve cities. Wars, therefore, between the two states were frequent, and the last one, marked by the fall of Veii (described in this selection), was the fourteenth war which is recorded. This last siege occupied ten years, from 404 till 395 B.C.

4. superante: the number of men was more than sufficient to take the city. — **cuniculo**: according to the tradition the Romans had worked a great mine or tunnel leading to the *arx* of Veii. The purpose of Camillus in attacking the wall of the city at several points was to draw the garrison of the enemy away from the *arx*, so that the tunnel could be used for gaining access to the city.

Page 135. — 9. si . . . satis habeam: an interesting commentary on Livy's estimate of the credibility of these early legends. This story he would relegate to the realm of mere fancy. See Introduction, p. xiii.

15. invidiam: great prosperity of an individual or a state was believed to rouse the jealousy of the gods.

16. ad damnationem: Camillus later went into exile in consequence of a charge brought against him of improperly distributing the Veientine spoil. — **cladem**: the capture of Rome by the Gauls.

Page 136, Chapter 22.

The inhabitants are sold into slavery. The cult statue of Juno with her worship is transferred to Rome.

1. praedae: part. gen. with *quod*.

3. modo: abl. of *modus*.

BOOK V, CHAPTERS 33–49. 7

The Capture and Sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the legends and early history, Niebuhr,

History, II. 512–555, *Lectures*, I. 253–273; Mommsen, I. 427–430; Duruy, I. 254–262; Lewis, II. 321–358; Shuckburgh, 114–122; How and Leigh, 84–90; Pelham, 73, 74; Morey, 67–69; Botsford, 43–45; Ihne, 202–213.

Page 137, Chapter 33.

The people of Clusium solicit aid of the Romans against the Gauls.

1. cive: M. Furius Camillus. — **fatali clade**: the capture of Rome by the Gauls. — **Clusinis**: Clusium was a strong Etruscan town in east central Etruria, to which the Gauls in their advance southward had laid siege.

3. vinum: Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* II. 15) says of the Nervii who lived only a little north of the Senones, the Gallic tribe that invaded Italy at this time, *nihil pati vini reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam pertinentium inferri, quod his rebus relanguescere animos eorum et remitti virtutem existimarent.*

4. abnuerim: cf. *ediderim*, p. 56, § 4.

5. Ducentis annis ante: in the time of Tarquinius (see below, p. 138, § 1).

7. Mari supero inferoque: the Adriatic and Tuscan (Tyrrhenian) seas respectively. Note the chiastic order of this and the following clauses. — **Hadria**: a town of Etruscan origin situated near the mouth of the Po.

8. vergentes: with *terras*.

9. duodenis: the well-known confederation of twelve cities.

Page 138. — totidem: *i.e.* twelve.

Chapter 34.

The first passage of the Gauls over into Italy.

1. quae . . . tertia est: cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* I. 1; *tertiam (partem ii incolunt) qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur.* — **Celtico**: substantive, *to the Celtic nation.*

2. Ambigatus: the name of the king.

4. Hercynii saltus: in southern Germany, east of the Rhine.

5. Bituriges, etc.: names familiar to readers of Caesar's *Gallic War.*

6. de Hercule fabulis: one is related in Book I. 7.

7. religio: the *religious duty* to protect strangers in distress. — **Salluvium**: they lived in the district between the mouth of the Rhone and the Alps.

Page 139. — 8. Massilienses: *i.e.* they were the emigrants from Phocaea, who later founded Massilia (Marseilles).

9. Mediolanium: the modern Milan.

Chapter 35.

Other migrations of the Gauls southward. In response to the appeal of the people of Clusium, Rome sent an embassy to warn the Gauls not to molest her allies.

1. Brixia (mod. Brescia), **Verona**: cities east of Mediolanium.

2. Poenino: sc. *saltu:* this pass was north of the one used by the earlier Gallic emigrants. The movement which Livy briefly summarizes here was that great migration of Gauls into northern Italy which gave henceforth to the district south of the Alps the name of Gallia Cisalpina. — **intra Appenninum**: *i.e.* east of the Appennines.

3. Utente, Aesim: these are small streams emptying into the Adriatic. The latter forms the northern boundary of Picenum. — **venisse**: in 391 B.C., on the occasion about to be described at length.

4. legatos Romam misere: an eloquent commentary on the steady extension of Rome's power.

Page 140, Chapter 36.

The barbarians reply that right is settled by the sword. A battle follows in which the Roman envoys, contrary to international right, take arms and fight against the Gauls. The latter turn menacingly toward Rome.

2. novum: this is the first time that they have heard of the Romans.

5. accensis utrimque animis: contrary to instructions, the Roman envoys showed little tact in dealing with this untried and dangerous foe.

6. contra ius gentium: they were sent as envoys, not soldiers.

Page 141. — 9. in (*viris*): *in the case of.* — **ambitio**: it was best *policy* not to offend so powerful and popular a family as that of the Fabii.

10. ubi: i.e. *apud populum*. — **gratia atque opes**: used here in a general sense but with an underlying suggestion of the Fabii.

Chapter 37.

The Gauls advance rapidly upon Rome. The Romans raise an army and meet the barbarians eleven miles north of the city, where the stream Alia flows into the Tiber.

2. ab Oceano . . . oris: a rhetorical exaggeration.

Page 142. — 4. ultro: without the asking.

5. immensum: substantive, on which *loci* depends.

7. tumultuario: like a mob, without military formation. — **infra**: west of.

8. nata in vanos tumultus gens: the character of the Gauls had not changed in Caesar's time.

Chapter 38.

Terror seizes the Romans. In the battle their lines break and many are killed. The survivors flee to Veii or Rome.

1. saltem: if the tribunes had no regard for men, one would expect them at least to pay due homage to the gods, but even this they did not do.

2. aequari: equal in length to the enemy's line.

3. captum: sc. *esse*.

Page 143. — 6. locus: the higher elevation. — **proximis, ultimis**: dat. of apparent agent. — **clamor**: sc. *hostium*.

7. pugnantium: in the act of fighting. Note the emphatic *terga* following. — **caesa**: *ab hostibus*.

Chapter 39.

The Gauls encamp outside the walls of Rome while the inhabitants within, the young men of military age, and some of the senators and their wives and children retire to the *arx* on the Capitoline hill.

Page 144. — 6. Omne inde tempus, etc.: this language shows again Livy's power of imaginative description. — **primo adventu, deinde . . . solis**: sc. *in urbem futurus videretur impetus*. — **hoc consilii**: to attack the city immediately.

8. continens fuit: *followed close*, with *timori*.

10. arcem Capitoliumque: the entire Capitoline hill is thus indicated, the *arx* being on the northern elevation while the name Capitolium was applied to the southern elevation.

Page 145. — 11. flaminem: sc. *Quirinalem.*

12. seniorum: with *turbae.*

13. id: refers to the idea contained in *perīturae.*

Chapter 40.

The confusion and distress of those not admitted to the *arx.* The disposition of the sacred utensils.

1. fortuna: attracted into the rel. clause.

2. Digredientibus: the defenders of the city on the Capitoline. — **ab iis:** *from those* who remained without the Capitoline; to be taken with *digredientibus.*

4. quod utile: it was scarcely within the heart of man to do what after all would be of advantage to a besieged army, namely, to diminish the number of non-combatants.

Page 146. — 8. despui: as being a holy place. — **religio:** *sacrilege.* Cf. the meaning of *religiosum* below, § 10. — **sublicio ponte:** see note to *ponti sublicio,* p. 42, § 6.

9. eo clivo: the street which ascended the Janiculum.

10. Caere: an Etruscan city about twenty miles northwest of Rome.

Chapter 41.

The Gauls enter the city and scatter in search of plunder. They massacre the helpless inhabitants and set fire to their houses.

Page 147. — 5. occursu: with *vacuis.*

7. atriis: the *atrium* was the main living room, which one entered immediately from the street by way of the passage called the *fauces.*

8. vestibulis: this word properly signifies the open space between the front door of a house and the street. The *vestibula* of Pompeian houses are small, where they exist at all, but we may suppose that in the palaces of Rome they were larger and more magnificent.

9. Gallo: dat. of reference to be trans. as gen. — **scipione:** the ivory scepter presented to a *triumphator.*

Chapter 42.

The wretched experiences of the Romans on the *arx*, forced as they are to see their people killed and their city destroyed.

Page 148. — 3. concipere rem and **satis constare** are synonymous expressions. They were crazed with grief and anxiety.

4. mulierum puerorumque: those who had not fled from the city. — **patriae**: depends upon *spectaculum*, which with *ad* expresses the purpose of *a fortuna positi*.

5. a patria: abl. of separation with *interclusi*.

7. tot: with *malis*.

Chapter 43.

The Gauls make an ineffectual attempt to take the *arx* by an assault. They prepare to besiege it.

1. quoque: having accomplished what destruction they could with fire, the Gauls also (as well as the Romans) are ready to make trial of arms.

2. subeunt: up the steep sides of the Capitoline. — **Romani**: sc. *faciebant*. — **ea**: antecedent of the preceding *qua*.

Page 149. — 3. restitere: sc. *Romani*. — **qui . . . inferebat**: sc. *eos*, the steep slope by its very nature forced them against the enemy.

4. et ex agris . . . erat: does not correlate well with the preceding clause, *quod . . . absumpserant*, which is introduced by *cuius*. At the same time the second clause helps to explain why the Gauls had not considered the plan of a siege.

6. Camillus: see above on *ad damnationem*, p. 135, § 16. It was to Ardea that Camillus retired in voluntary exile.

Chapter 44.

A division of the Gallic army advances upon Ardea, where Camillus is living in exile. The old warrior urges the inhabitants to take up arms and follow his leadership.

1. hoc: that I be adopted by a country not my own. — **condicionis**: refers to his status as an exile. Cf. also below, *ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum*.

2. arte: i.e. *belli*. — **invictus bello in pace pulsus**: the chiastic order greatly heightens the effect.

Page 150. — 3. referendae, pariendi: genitives depending on *fortuna* (above).

5. magna: a physical characteristic. — **firma**: a mental or spiritual characteristic. The Gauls are big of stature, but they are fickle-minded and lack persistence.

6. prope rivos aquarum: the Gauls in Caesar's time also usually selected for the site of a camp the lower ground near a river. Nor did they take the precautions for fortifying a camp at night, which Caesar's army never omitted.

Chapter 45.

They obey the bidding of Camillus and in the night time surprise and slaughter the Gallic host. With similar success a body of marauding Etruscans is put to the sword by Roman soldiers.

1. Aequis iniquisque: *friends and foes.*

Page 151. — 4. urbis: Rome. The gen. is used with *miseriti sunt.*

5. milites Romani: the soldiers whose services had not been needed to guard the Capitoline. — **praedam**: cattle.

8. Tantum: *merely.* They had no leader like Camillus, but their method of procedure and their success were the same as if he had been in command. — **salinas**: see note to this word, p. 42, § 9.

Chapter 46.

The brave deed of C. Fabius Dorsuo. Camillus is recalled from exile and elected dictator.

2. statum: *fixed, i.e.* in the religious calendar. — **Gabino cinctu**: a distinctive mode of wearing the toga, by which the end of the garment, instead of being thrown over the left shoulder, was passed around the waist and fastened in the manner of a girdle. This mode of dress was at first used by soldiers, but later it was worn only in the celebrating of certain religious rites.

Page 152. — 3. eadem: sc. *via.*

4. Romanis convenientibus, voluntariis confluentibus: perhaps better taken as abl. abs. giving the reason for *maturum videbatur.* — **ut in parte . . . essent**: *that they might share.*

6. Locus ipse: Veii, which Camillus had captured in 396 B.C. — **Caedicius**: the centurion in command (cf. *ordinis*). — **negare se commissurum** = *dicere se nihil facturum.*

7. pudor: *sense of propriety.*

10. comitiis curiatis: the tribal assembly which conferred the *imperium* on the dictator. — **revocatus**: = *cum revocatus esset.* — **iussu populi**: with *diceretur.*

Page 153. — 11. seu: Livy is not sure whether Camillus went to Veii, when merely he had learned of the decree of the senate and before the people had formally voted his appointment, or whether he remained in Ardea until the law (*lex curiata*) recalling him from exile had been passed and his appointment as dictator had been made. — **finibus**: abl. with *mutari, change his residence.*

Chapter 47.

The Gauls plan to scale the heights of the arx quietly at night, and they would have succeeded had not their presence been made known by the cackling of the sacred geese. A culpable sentinel is thrown down from the rock.

2. Carmentis: sc. *sacellum.* — **ubi quid iniqui esset**: where it was difficult to ascend when encumbered by arms.

Page 154. — 8. quartarios: this measure was less than a quarter of a pint. — **detractum**: used substantively.

11. de saxo: the *saxum Tarpeium,* on the southeast corner of the hill.

Chapter 48.

Both armies are distressed by famine and pestilence. At length the Romans on the *arx* decide to surrender and the Gauls demand one thousand pounds of gold as a ransom.

1. castra habentes: see note above to *prope rivos aquarum,* p. 150, § 6. — **ferente**: *sending up,* agrees with *loco,* as do also *torrido* and *pleno.*

3. frigori: in his Commentaries Caesar often mentions the rigor of a Gallic winter, and the lateness of the springs. — **bustorum Gallicorum**: there is no more exact knowledge of its location than that expressed by Livy's words (XXII. 14), *media in urbe.*

Page 155. — 5. dum: its influence extends through *instruit.*

6. humanis: referring to *stationibus vigiliisque.*

8. populi gentibus mox imperaturi: the pride of the Roman attempting to belittle this early disgrace by a reference to his country's later greatness and power.

9. iniqua: the weights which the Gauls used were too heavy.

Chapter 49.

But before the price is paid Camillus appears with an army. A battle is fought and the Gauls are routed. In a second battle the barbarians are annihilated and not one is left to tell the tale.

1. Sed diique, etc.: Livy's account of the Gallic invasion into Roman territory is doubtless somewhat prejudiced.

Page 156. — 7. iaciunt: sc. *milites.*

BOOK VI, CHAPTERS 35–42

The Licinio-Sextian Laws (376–367 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the constitutional antiquities, Abbott, 34–38; Greenidge, 111–122; Granrud, 66–77; Taylor, 103–117; Mommsen, I. 380–383; Niebuhr, *History*, III. 1–30, *Lectures*, I. 282–292; Lewis, II. 373–398; Duruy, I. 278–283; Shuckburgh, 167–170; Botsford, 82–87; How and Leigh, 91–97.

Page 157, Chapter 35.

C. Licinius and L. Sextius, tribunes of the plebs, propose laws for the relief of the debt-ridden plebeians, but the laws are defeated through the veto of their colleagues, who were bribed by patricians. Licinius and Sextius retaliate by preventing the election of the military tribunes.

1. aeris alieni: in spite of military successes abroad, there was distress and dissension at home; there still remained the old struggle between the poor, unrepresented plebeians and the rich, powerful patricians, and this struggle was made bitter on the side of the plebeians by the accumulation of their already heavy debts, which resulted largely from the Gallic invasion and the

numerous wars in which the plebeians had defended their fatherland. On the other hand the patricians possessed large landed estates and besides held large sections of the public land, the *ager publicus*, which they regarded as their inalienable property though they paid to the state only a small rent for it. In 376 B.C., therefore, the tribunes, C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, introduced bills looking to the relief of the debt-ridden plebeians, by (1) reducing their debts, (2) limiting the amount of public land which any one might hold, and (3) securing plebeian representation in the consulship.

2. honore: they desired political equality with the patricians.

4. deducto, etc.: the first bill provided that whatever money had already been paid by a debtor as interest should be deducted from the principal, and the remainder of the debt paid off in three annual installments.

5. quingenta iugera: over three hundred English acres. — **tribunorum militum**: as early as 445 B.C. the plebeians had agitated the question of plebeian representation in the consulship and in that year a compromise was effected by the Lex Canuleia, by which it was arranged that, instead of consuls for a given year, military tribunes *consulari potestate* (usually four) should be elected, any one of whom might be a plebeian. The present bill of Licinius proposed to abolish this office of consular tribune and to require that at least one of the consuls be a plebeian. — **sine certamine maximo**: these measures of Licinius were not passed until 367 B.C., after ten years of struggle.

6. intercessionem: the right of veto which a tribune had over the official acts even of his colleagues. The patricians were able on this occasion to induce some of the ten tribunes to forbid action on the bills of Licinius and Sextius.

Page 158. — 8. antiquatis: the technical word for rejected bills. — **telo**: the power of veto.

10. aedilium tribunorumque plebi: apparently the election of these plebeian magistrates could not be prevented by the veto power. — **curules magistratus**, etc.: according to this statement there were no consuls, praetors, or curule aediles elected in the period 375–371 B.C. How public business was conducted during such an extraordinary state of affairs we do not know.

Chapter 36.

Agitation is continued in favor of the proposed laws.

1. incursavere: in 370 B.C., six years later than the events of the preceding chapter, when Licinius and Sextius had been elected tribunes of the plebs for the seventh time.

3. Remittentibus: the tribunes relaxed temporarily their right of veto in the matter of electing magistrates.

Page 159. —7. iam octavum: in 369 B.C.

8. alienis: of the patricians, who instructed them what to say.

10. de singulis, etc.: the various bills which Licinius and Sextius had been advocating for seven years.

12. creditum: used substantively, obj. of *solvat*, the subject of which (supplied) is *plebes*.

Page 160, Chapter 37.

Further arguments in favor of the new laws proposed by Licinius and Sextius.

2. alium: with *modum*.

4. satis: pred. with *esse* supplied. It was not enough that the election of one plebeian consul be optional, it should be required by law; otherwise, as the plebeians discovered in the case of the consular tribunes (see note to *tribunorum militum*, p. 157, § 5), the patricians would find a way to defeat the election of a plebeian to the office of consul.

6. octona: the highest number of *tribuni militum consulari potestate* at any time was six, but sometimes the two censors were also counted with them.

7. lege obtinendum: this was the important point. The consulship would never be shared with the plebeians *patrum voluntate*, it must be secured by law.

Page 161.—9. Quaestores . . . creari: the first plebeian quaestor was elected in 409 B.C., but the office had been thrown open to them thirty years before.

12. duumviris sacris faciundis: their chief charge was the care of the Sibylline Books, and the observance of the religious rites which these Books directed.

Chapter 38.

The following year the pressure brought by the plebs in favor

of the proposed laws being so strong, the patricians become alarmed and appoint a dictator, M. Furius Camillus. The people are overawed and the passing of the laws is again prevented.

2. creati: for the year 368 B.C.

3. vocarentur: to cast their votes.

4. et: the *legum latores* also, as well as the patricians, prepare to resist (*causam armant*).

Page 162. — 5. tribunorum: with *certamine*. — **uti rogas**: that is, gave the affirmative vote. This was the Roman method of saying "aye."

6. potestas: sc. *tribunicia*.

9. quingentum milium: sc. *assium*.

10. ut . . . credam: obj. of *facit*.

Page 163, Chapter 39.

The plebs are disposed to pass a part of the laws framed by Licinius and Sextius, but the tribunes insist that the propositions must be acted upon collectively. They desire reëlection for the tenth time.

1. priorem: of Camillus. — **ab tribunis**: with *habito*.

2. iubebant: with conative force. They were ready to pass the bills concerning the interest and the land, but the tribunes would not allow it, since they had submitted these various measures to be voted on collectively.

3. tribunus militum: sc. *consulari potestate*.

4. cognatione: Licinius was a near relative of Manlius.

Page 164. — 5. quippe qui: antecedent is *dictatorem*. — **omen**: the fact that Manlius appointed a plebeian as his *magister equitum* augured well for their success in securing a plebeian consul.

8. et: connects *se* and *commoda*.

10. aestimaturos: sc. *eos* (= *plebem*). The question, introduced by *quando*, is a rhetorical one, and hence the inf. is used. — **quos**: antecedent is the following *senes*. — **relinquat**: implying that Licinius and Sextius cherished hopes of being elected to the consulship in accordance with their proposed law.

11. coniuncte: *collectively*. Cf. *simul* above, p. 163, § 2.

12. cuique opus: reduction of debt and limitation of land ownership.

Chapter 40.

The patrician Appius Claudius protests against the insistence of the tribunes that the proposed laws must be acted upon collectively. He holds that it would be unwise to make law the clause requiring at least one of the consuls to be a plebeian.

1. prae indignitate: the cause of *stupor silentiumque*.

Page 165.—3. antiquius: *more important*.

5. illud alterum: *with regard to that other point*. — **ausim**: see note to this word, Praefatio, § 1. — **quis**: indefinite.

7. non . . . non: simply repeats the negative idea expressed in *negent*.

8. inquit: here and following, sc. *tribunus plebis*, who had delivered the speech quoted indirectly in Chap. 39.

10. Tarquinii tribuni plebis: *you Tarquinian tribunes*, that is, you who are proud and despotic as was Tarquinius.

12. tu: the tribune. See note above to *inquit*.

Page 166. — 14. quo: indefinite.

15. sermo: *speech*, sc. *tribunorum plebis*. — **simillima**: the following.

17. possetisne ferre, etc.: there would be no question about Sextius being elected, but Camillus would have to risk defeat.

Page 167. — 18. traxeris: *seize*.

20. et: connects *debeat* and *dicat*.

Chapter 41.

Appius continues to argue against the obnoxious clause in the proposed laws. It is impossible, he says, to have plebeian consuls, since patricians alone have the right to take the auspices.

1. ne pro minimis quidem: if the law passes, they will secure the highest office without feeling under obligation to any one, even as for a slight favor; because, if one of the consuls must be a plebeian, whoever of this order is nominated for the office will necessarily be elected.

2. est aliquis: that is, there are many who, etc.

3. in Capitolio: where statues of the kings had been erected. — **si quidem**: *whereas*. Place the negative of the following *ne . . . quidem* with *poteritis*.

4. quid de religionibus, etc.: a chief objection to the admission

of the plebeians to the consulship was a religious one, namely, that the patricians alone were capable of taking the auspices.

Page 168. — **6. creet**: sc. *populus* as subject.

7. Quid aliud: sc. *facit*.

8. quid enim esse, etc.: *for what is it* (that is, *what difference does it make*) *if*, etc. The refusal of the hens to come out of their cage and eat was an unfavorable sign, as was also the strident note of a bird. — **rem**: sc. *publicam*.

9. Vulgo: without distinction whether they are capable of taking the auspices or not. Cf. the following *cuilibet*. — **ancilia**: see note to this word, p. 23, § 4. — **nefas**: sc. *tradi*.

11. altera lege: the one relating to the public land; **altera**: the one relating to debt.

Chapter 42.

The speech of Appius has the effect of checking action for the moment. Licinius and Sextius are elected tribunes for the tenth time. A successful battle with the Gauls is fought. Finally the Licinian laws are passed, but a compromise is effected by which an exclusively patrician office, the praetorship, is established.

2. decimum: for the year 367 B.C.

Page 169. — **de decemviris creandis**: action on this bill had been postponed two years before (Chap. 37).

5. Claudius: see Introduction, p. xii. — **torque**: a twisted chain of fine gold threads worn about the neck by the Gauls and other foreign peoples. In consequence of this achievement, which is related at length by Livy in Book 7. 10, Manlius and his descendants received the cognomen Torquatus.

6. Pluribus auctoribus magis adducor: a favorite though not always safe principle of historical research followed by our author. See Introduction, p. xiii.

9. rogationes tribuniciae: the famous bills for the relief of the plebs, first proposed ten years before. See note on *aeris alienae*, p. 157, § 1.

Page 170. — **10. negabant**: in order to be valid the election had to be ratified formally by the senate.

11. praetore: judicial functions were thus taken from the office of consul, to which the plebeians became eligible, and assigned to

this new magistrate, who must be a patrician. Even to the praetorship, however, the plebeians gained admission thirty years later.

14. aediles ex patribus: a new office, that of the *aedilis curulis*, created perhaps as an offset to the exclusively plebeian aedileship, which was beginning to assume great importance. In a short time plebeians became eligible to the curule aedileship also. Beginning with 366 B.C., which marks an epoch in the development of the Roman constitution, the magistrates were consul, interrex, dictator, censor, praetor, quaestor, curule aedile, tribune of the plebs, and plebeian aedile.

BOOK VII, CHAPTER 2

The Introduction of Scenic Representation (364 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: Mommsen, I. 284–301, II. 97–100, III. 133–183, IV, 219–242, V, 467–473; Shuckburgh, 134, 286–288; Teuffel, I. 3–28; Cruttwell, 23–86; Mackail, 3–26, 34.

Page 171, Chapter 2.

Scenic representations are introduced in order to appease the wrath of heaven. Five periods in the development of Roman comedy are traced.

1. Et hoc et insequenti anno: 365 and 364 B.C.

2. tertio: the first occurrence of this was in 399 B.C.; the second is not mentioned by Livy. — **lectisternium**: reclining images of the gods were placed on a couch (*lectus*) and offerings of food set before them. This sacred banquet, which was probably of Greek origin, was instituted on occasions of great distress for the purpose of imploring the protection and favor of the gods.

3. superstitione: not "superstition," but a *blind, unreasoning fear of the gods.* — **ludi scaenici**: even in the period of the kings there had been games (*ludi*) consisting of horse and chariot races and gymnastic contests (see p. 45, § 9). This year (364 B.C.) marks the introduction of scenic representations in Rome, although true dramatic performances were not given until the time of Livius Andronicus, in 240 B.C. (see below, § 8). This passage

shows that originally these games had a religious significance. — **circi . . . fuerat**: see p. 45, §§ 8, 9.

4. Sine carmine ullo, etc.: there was no singing at first, or gesticulation to accompany song. — **ludiones**: *players.*

5. iuventus: sc. *Romana.* — **inconditis**: *rude.* An important advance is made, namely, the introduction of dialogue, which makes the acting intelligible.

6. excitata: *enlivened*, that is, developed and improved. — **Vernaculis**: that is, Roman. — **histrionibus**: the derivation which Livy gives is not generally accepted now. The word may be connected with a root whose general meaning is "to jest," "to cause to laugh."

7. sicut ante: when *imitari iuventus coepere* above, § 5. — **Fescennino versu**: dat. case. These were rude improvisations which formed a part of the merrymaking at rustic festivals. They were characterized by coarseness and personal abuse. — **similem**: sc. *versum.* — **saturas**: metrical compositions (*impletas modis, entirely of verse*), recited to the music of the tibia and accompanied by appropriate gestures and dancing.

8. Livius: Livius Andronicus, with whom the history of Roman literature properly begins, wrote a translation of the Odyssey as well as free translations or adaptations of Greek tragedies and comedies. His first play was produced in 240 B.C. The first literary standard of Roman literature was thus set by the Greek. — **argumento**: formerly there had been no *plot*, the *saturae* consisting of separate songs and stories.

Page 172. — 9. canticum egisse: while the *puer* sang the musical parts of the drama, Livius supplied the appropriate gestures. *This was the origin of the custom of singing to the actors appropriately to their gesticulations* (*inde . . . coeptum*).

10. diverbia: the dialogue portion of the drama. — **ipsorum**: *i.e. histrionum.*

11. exodia: farces in the old style of the *saturae*, which were given as *after plays* to the regular dramas. — **Atellanis**: so called from Atella, a small town in Oscan territory in Southern Campania. The Atellan farces, which were short, coarse burlesques with fixed characters, were later used as after plays, and continued to be popular even until the time of the empire.

12. nec tribu moveantur: they were not professional actors, who in Rome were held in disrepute.

13. hanc: *the present.* Five periods in the development of Roman comedy are given by Livy: (1) dancing to the sound of music, a foreign importation (§§ 3, 4); (2) introduction by Romans of rude verse appropriate to the action (§ 5); (3) development and improvement of this into metrical composition accompanied by the music of the tibia and appropriate gesticulation (§§ 6, 7); (4) introduction by Livius Andronicus of the drama having a plot, with other improvements (§§ 8–10); (5) the fully developed drama with an after play (§§ 11, 12).

BOOK VII, CHAPTER 6. 1–6

The Story of M. Curtius (362 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the legend, Lewis, II. 410; Ihne, 73–74. On the monumental remains, Platner, 256; Hülsen, 139–142.

Chapter 6.

M. Curtius, in full armor and mounted on a horse, plunges into an abyss in the Forum, as an offering to the gods of the lower world.

1. eodem anno: 362 B.C.

3. id . . . dicandum: the Romans were instructed to throw into the fissure, as an offering, that which was the source of their greatest strength.

Page 173. — 4. se devovisse: this was the favorite story told in explanation of the name, Lacus Curtius. Another account is related by Livy in I. 13. Still another, preserved by Varro, says that in 445 B.C. this spot of ground was struck by lightning, and in accordance with a decree of the senate it was surrounded by an enclosing wall; this being done, the place was called Lacus Curtius.

5. donaque ac fruges: the spot was still sacred in the time of Augustus, when *ex-voto* offerings of coins for the wellbeing of the emperor were thrown into the Lacus. Remains of the sacred precinct were discovered in April, 1904, on the south side of the Forum, just east of the column of Phocas. The area, which is trapezoidal in form, measures about 33 ft. by 29 ft. Near the

eastern end are the remains of a round altar or puteal, surrounded by a twelve-sided base moulding. — **ab antiquo illo**, etc.: referring to the author's earlier account in I. 13.

BOOK VIII, CHAPTER 3. 8–10

The Latin War (340 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the legends and early history, Niebuhr, *History*, III. 128–145, *Lectures*, I. 317–323; Mommsen, I. 438–464, especially 459–462; Duruy, I. 321–324; Lewis, II. 422–433; Shuckburgh, 131, 132; How and Leigh, 97–105; Pelham, 80, 81; Botsford, 51–53; Morey, 76, 77.

On the constitutional antiquities, Abbott, 57–60; Greenidge, 295–300; Granrud, 93–97, Taylor, 145–151.

Page 174, Chapter 3.

The Romans summon ten chiefs of the Latins to Rome for orders.

8. Ceterum Romani: in 343–341 B.C. Rome waged her first war with the Samnites, and, assisted by the Campanians and Latins, was apparently successful. After Rome had made peace, the Campanians and Latins united in continuing the war against the Samnites. The latter naturally made complaint to Rome, and the Campanians were ordered to desist. There was no clause, however, in an earlier treaty with the Latins which gave the Romans the right to forbid the Latins from carrying on war with whatever people they wished. The Latins, therefore, thought this a favorable opportunity to demand either their independence or equal civic rights with the people of Rome. — **sociorum**: the Campanians. — **tamquam . . . agerent**: that is, as if they had no doubt of the allegiance of the Latins.

9. praetores: the name of the chief magistrates among the Latins. They were leaders in war and they summoned and presided at the assemblies of their respective cities. — **Setinum, Circeiensem**: *of Setia, of Circeii*, cities of southern Latium.

Chapter 4.

In an assembly of the Latins L. Annius recommends that the

envoys to Rome be instructed to demand that hereafter one consul be chosen from the Latins.

2. quid abest, quin: *what stands in the way of, i.e.* there is nothing to do but, etc. — **Sidicinis**: the Sidicini in northern Campania had asked the aid of the Latins against the Samnites.

Page 175. — 3. pudebat: sc. *nos.* **consilia**: obj. of *ponendis* and *sumendis.*

5. hoc: to have *imperii pars.*

7. negando militem: in 349 B.C. the Latins had refused with impunity to provide soldiers for the Roman army.

Page 176, Chapter 5.

At Rome Annius demands for the Latins equal representation in the government, but consideration of his demand is indignantly refused.

6. altera utra: *one of the two.* — **haec patria**: Roma.

Page 177, Chapter 6.

The Romans actively prepare for war upon the Latins. In obedience to a command received in a vision it is resolved that one of the consuls shall offer himself as a sacrifice to the gods of the lower world.

3. Exanimatum: sc. *eum esse.* — **sicut**: *as also the story that,* etc. — **foederum testationem**: cf. *implorationem deum, quos testes foederum . . . consules* (§ 1).

4. Torquatus: the cognomen of Manlius.

6. stratas dabo: an emphatic *sternam.*

Page 178. — 8. ad Capuam: with *locant.* Why not *Capuae?*

10. super: *besides.* Cf. the English, "on top of." — **se devovisset**: *deis Manibus matrique Terrae.*

11. averruncandae irae: expresses the purpose of *caedi. Placuit* is here used with both an inf. and an *ut-* clause.

12. insidenti with *religioni.*

Page 179, Chapter 7.

T. Manlius, the consul's son, performs a conspicuous deed of valor, but as he thereby violated an order of his father, he is put to death.

1. turmarum: *cavalry squads.*

8. haud interesset: because in any event he was to meet death.

9. spatio: abl. of place where, with *concitant.* — **vacui campi**: attracted into the rel. clause.

Page 180. — **elapsa**: that is, neither was wounded.

10. equi: of Maecius.

13. tuo sanguine ortum: like father, like son.

17. nostro: because committed by a member of his own household. Cf. below, *nostra peccata.*

19. si quid . . . est: if you have any of the spirit that actuates me to uphold the *imperium* of the consul. — **palum**: he was fastened to a stake and beheaded. This story, affecting as it is, well illustrates the unswerving devotion of a Roman to the state, even when his dearest interests were involved. Stern discipline and blind, unquestioning obedience to commands account for Roman success in arms.

Page 181.—20. quam . . . cernentes: = *quam . . . si cernerent.*

21. ab: *in consequence of.*

22. Manliana imperia: the phrase became proverbial.

Chapter 8.

The composition of the Roman army, and its manner of fighting.

3. Clipeis, scuta: for the difference, see notes to these words, p. 52, §§ 2, 4. The following description of the organization of the Roman army applied to the early period only. Important changes in the constitution of the army were made during the Carthaginian wars, and later in the first century B.C. — **stipendiarii facti sunt**: in 406 B.C. — **quod**: antecedent is *hoc* (below). — **phalanges**: solid bodies of men; later the army was divided into companies (*manipulatim*).

4. Ordo: the tactical unit, = *manipulus.* Later the number of men in a maniple was increased so that in the time of Caesar we find a maniple divided into two *centuriae* which contained sixty men each.

5. hastati: so-called because originally they carried spears (*hastae*). In this first line were the young men of the army. **vicenos milites**: in addition to the 60 regular soldiers (*scutati*) in each maniple. There were, therefore, in each maniple

80 soldiers, two centurions, and one standard bearer. Thus in the first line there were 1245 soldiers.

6. totidem: the second line, called *principes*, consisted of men in the prime of life, divided into fifteen maniples of 60 men each, or with the centurions, and standard bearer, 63. There were no light-armed soldiers in the line. In the second line, then, were 945 soldiers.

Page 182. — 7. triginta: the first two lines, containing 30 maniples together, were also called *antepilani*, because they stood in front of the third line, the *triarii*, who originally carried *pila*. — **sub signis:** *following the standard.* The fifteen divisions (*ordines*) of the third line followed the standard of the first and second lines, that is, they were behind them. — **ex quibus ordo**, etc.: the account of Livy is not clear [1] and it cannot easily be reconciled with what we know of the organization of the army before and after this time. The third line of the formation consisted of fifteen divisions (*ordines*) and each division had three parts (*partes*). Of these parts the first had the distinctive name of *pilum*. Moreover each *ordo* had three flags, and each *ordo* counted 186 men. Under the first flag were the veteran *triarii*, under the second flag the less strong *rorarii*, and under the third the unreliable *accensi*. — **primum, vexillum:** though these words occur in the manuscripts, they are meaningless and may be omitted in the trans.

8. constabat: sc. *ordo*. — **centum octoginta sex:** in each *ordo*. There were thus in the fifteen *ordines* 2790 men, or in the whole legion 4980 men, practically 5000 (see § 14). — **triarios:** the derivation is uncertain. — **rorarios:** Varro (*L.L.* VII. 58) explains the derivation thus, *Rorarii dicti ab rore qui bellum committebant, ideo quod ante rorat quam fluit.* As a matter of fact the original sense of these words was lost. For the *hastati* carried *pila*, not *hastae*, and the *principes* did not stand in the first line.

9. in intervalla ordinum: the soldiers in each line did not stand close together, but at a short distance apart; and through the openings thus made the unsuccessful combatants retired to the rear.

10. sinistro crure porrecto: they knelt upon the right knee and

[1] Teachers may refer, for a brief discussion of this passage, to Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, II.² 360–363.

had the left leg extended forward. — **subrecta**: the point of the spear pointed upward.

11. cum laboratur: *when one is hard pressed.*

13. compressis ordinibus: before engaging in the battle the *triarii* closed their ranks and advanced in a compact body. **insecuti**: refers to *hosti*.

Page 183. — 15. concurrendum sibi: the Latin army was of the same size as the Roman, and its organization and maneuvering was the same. Therefore unless some change was made, the *hastati* of both sides would engage with each other, then the *principes*, then the *triarii* (*vexilla*), even centurion with centurion.

16. primipili: the first centurion of the first *pilus* of the *triarii* was called *primipilus*.

18. oblatus: sc. *illi* (= *Latino*).

19. Veserim: a small stream.

Chapter 9.

The battle between the Romans and Latins begins near the foot of Mt. Vesuvius. P. Decius, the consul, devotes himself for the army.

1. immolaverunt: the auspices were always taken before a battle. Here separate victims are slain by the two consuls. — **caput iocineris**: a protuberance on the right lobe of the victim's liver. In the sheep this protuberance varies greatly in size. It could thus be employed for purposes of divination, for the greater its size, the greater the good fortune it indicated. *Iocineris* is from the nom. *iecur*. — **a familiari parte**: on the side pertaining to Decius. In the language of augury the *pars familiaris* was contrasted with the *pars hostilis*.

4. me devoveam: this act of *devotio* by Decius consisted in offering up himself and the legions and auxiliaries of the Romans to the divinities of the lower world (*Di Manes, Tellus*). This was believed to appease the supposed anger of the gods and to be a means of procuring success for Roman arms.

5. subiectum: with *telum*.

Page 184. — 6. Iane: by Roman religious custom, Janus, the god of beginnings, was invoked first. See note to this word,

p. 22, § 2. — **di Indigetes:** the local or native gods, as *divi Novensiles* were the foreign gods.

9. cinctu Gabino: see note to these words, p. 151, § 2.

12. fugam ac vastitatem: in the ranks of the Latins.

13. exsolutis religione: the Romans no longer feared the anger of the gods now that the offering of Decius had been made (*corruit obrutus telis*).

Chapter 10.

Courage is inspired in the Romans by the brave act of Decius. The Latins flee and their camp is taken. Details with reference to the *devotio*.

1. aliis partibus: on the right wing, commanded by Manlius.

Page 185. — 2. accensos . . . iubet: the *accensi* were described in Chap. 8, § 8 as *minimae fiduciae manus*. Their employment on this occasion of emergency was probably unusual. As they were not distinguished by the Latins from the veteran *triarii* the *accensi* must have been similarly equipped and armed.

6. primo robore: the *triarii* of the Latins. — **alios:** others than the *triarii*, that is, the *hastati*, *principes*, etc.

7. montis: Vesuvius. **ab deis . . . inferisque:** with *minas periculaque*.

9. Minturnas: about forty miles northwest.

Page 186. — 11. non se . . . devovere: Decius was brave since he might have devoted any soldier rather than himself to the gods of the lower world.

12. signum: not necessarily a portrait statue of the one devoted, but any image the use of which in the manner indicated symbolized the sacrifice.

13. devovit: sc. *se*. — **faciet:** he might not perform any religious rite, either on his own behalf or on behalf of the state.

14. suovetaurilibus: see note to this word, p. 53, § 2. — **fieri** sc. *fas est*.

BOOK IX, CHAPTERS 1–6. 3

The Disaster at the Caudine Forks (321 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the history, Niebuhr, *History*, III. 202–

223, *Lectures*, I. 361–366; Mommsen, I. 468–473 ; Duruy, I. 337–340; Lewis, II. 443–459; Shuckburgh, 140–144; How and Leigh, 106–110; Morey, 80, 81; Botsford, 54–57.

Page 187, Chapter 1.

In a spirit of resentment and desire for revenge, C. Pontius, the Samnite leader, harangues his soldiers on the refusal of the Romans to listen to the embassy that had been sent to Rome to sue for peace.

1. hunc annum: the events of which were described in the last chapters of the preceding book. — **nobilis**: *memorable*. — **clade Romana Caudina pax**: in the last half of the fourth century and the first decade of the third century B.C. the Romans were chiefly occupied in subduing the Samnites, the hardy mountain tribes whose original home was in the interior, east of Campania, but who early spread west and south, plundering and pillaging and reducing a large part of this territory to submission. The Campanians appealed to the Romans and war followed. The events described in the preceding selection took place immediately after the first Samnite war, 343–341 B.C. The disaster at the Caudine Forks, 321 B.C., recounted in the present selection, occurred during the second Samnite war, 326–304 B.C. — **Caudina**: nom. case.

3. legati: at the beginning of the second Samnite war, the Romans had everywhere the advantage, and the Samnites sent an embassy to Rome with Roman prisoners and booty they had captured (*ad dedendas res*) to sue for peace, but the Romans refused to listen (*pace infecta*). — **ex foedere rupto**: the treaty made at the close of the first Samnite war in 341 B.C. and broken, according to the Roman account, by the Samnites in 327 B.C.

6. perfunctos iam fato: the embassy to Rome, mentioned above, carried with it the dead body of the Samnite leader, Brutulus Papius, who had anticipated the Roman executioners by committing suicide.

7. Romane: the figure known as apostrophe, in which the speaker addresses one absent as if he were present. — **Neminem**: sc. *iudicem*.

8. cum: *in the struggle with*. — **iuris**: with *nihil*.

Page 188. — 11. agant: sc. *homines*.

Chapter 2.

By a clever ruse the Samnite general succeeds in drawing the whole Roman army into the Caudine pass. The Romans mechanically pitch a camp, but are greatly depressed in spirits.

1. Caudium: in south central Samnium, commanding the narrow passes over the Apennines, known as the Caudinae Furculae.

2. Calatia: a Campanian town a little west of Caudium.

3. Luceriam: east of Caudium in northern Apulia. The false report would have the effect of drawing the Romans to their allies in Luceria, but to reach Luceria they would have to cross the mountains by the ill-fated pass.

6. praeter oram superi maris: by making a very wide detour, first north and then over the Apennines, possibly by way of the Liris valley, then through the country of the Peligni and Frentani and finally south.

Page 189. — 7. satis patens: about seven and a half miles long by five miles wide. For the identification of the site in modern times see the guide book, Baedeker, *Southern Italy* (ed. 1903), p. 11.

8. si . . . pergas: that is, there are two passes only out of this *campus*, one on the west side and one on the east side. It was at the latter pass, which was narrower, that the Roman army met its fate.

9. via alia: the *primae angustiae*. — **praesidium**: sc. *hostium*.

10. sua: the reflexive refers to *eam* (= *viam*).

12. praetoria: the tents forming the headquarters of the consuls; hence the plural is used. Below (§ 15) the singular is used to indicate the general headquarters.

Page 190, Chapter 3.

The Romans pass the night unhappily discussing various expedients. The Samnites, on the other hand, are advised by the aged Herennius Pontius either to spare all the enemy or to kill all.

4. qua . . . qua: *both . . . and*.

8. ancipiti oraculo: the oracular responses, for instance, of the priestess of Apollo at Delphi were usually so ambiguous that they

could be easily explained in the light of succeeding events. — **ipsum**: *patrem*.

9. Nec: with *gravatus*.

Page 191. — 13. istuc: attracted into the rel. clause. Trans. as if the subject of *vivet*.

Chapter 4.

The Romans send an embassy to the Samnite general to treat for peace. Pontius imposes severe terms of surrender. L. Lentulus, a Roman lieutenant, urges, however, that they be accepted.

2. provocarent: sc. *eos* (= *Samnites*).

4. coloniae: at Fregellae and Cales.

Page 192. — 7. hiscere: an expressive word, *to open the mouth* without articulate utterance.

8. a Gallis: the capture of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C. is described on p. 155.

10. devovere: as Decius had done (p. 184).

11. pro se ipsis: for personal honor, in order to avoid disgrace by living.

13. videlicet: ironical.

15. At . . . deditio est: the objection some one may raise.

Page 193. — 16. redemerunt: from the Gauls.

Chapters 5 and 6.

An agreement embodying these terms of surrender is entered into, for the fulfillment of which agreement sureties are given and hostages delivered. The soldiers feel keenly the disgrace, for which they blame the consuls. All are stripped of their arms. Subjected to the insults and taunts of the enemy, the Romans are sent under the yoke.

1. fetialibus: see note to this word, p. 28, § 4.

2. Claudius: see Introduction, p. xii. Livy seeks to explain the refusal later of the Roman senate to accept the terms of surrender by the statement that a treaty was not and could not have been made by the consuls, and that merely an agreement (*sponsio*) was entered into.

3. sponsoribus: i.e. *Romanis*, who guaranteed the carrying out

of the terms agreed upon. — **obsidibus**: six hundred Roman *equites* were retained by the Samnites as *hostages*.

6. ab iis: i.e. *consulibus*.

Page 194. — 13. paludamenta: the cloak of the *imperator*. — **eos**: *consules*.

BOOK X, CHAPTERS 6–9. 6

The Lex Ogulnia and the Lex Valeria (300 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the constitutional antiquities, Abbott, 43; Greenidge, 123, 124, 168, 194; Granrud, 82, 83; Taylor, 138–140; Mommsen, I. 383–385, 367–368; Niebuhr, *History*, III. 350–354, *Lectures*, I. 394; Shuckburgh, 172, 173, 93; How and Leigh, 95.

Page 195, Chapter 6.

The Lex Ogulnia is proposed, providing that the number of the augurs and the pontiffs be increased and that the new members be chosen from the plebs.

1. M. Valerio . . . consulibus: in 300 B.C. — **indutiae**: made after an outbreak of the Etruscans at Arretium in 302–301 B.C. — **hauddum = nondum**. — **foederis novi**: the renewal in 304 B.C. of an earlier treaty with the Samnites.

3. exoneratam: the condition of the plebs had constantly improved.

5 sacerdotia: the plebeians had long since gained eligibility to the highest civil magistracies, but with the exception of the college of the *decemviri sacris faciundis*, the priestly offices of the pontifices and augurs could, before 300 B.C., be held by patricians only. Previous to that year there were four pontifices and four augurs, but by the Lex Ogulnia of 300 B.C. the former number was increased to eight, the latter to nine. These additional members were taken from the plebeian class. The admission to these colleges was an important privilege, inasmuch as they were sometimes able, by their arrangement of the calendar, for instance, or by their interpretation of the will of the gods, to affect legal or legislative business. Read the article *Augur* in a dictionary of antiquities. — **promiscua**: that is, open to all.

6. adlegerentur: the method of election was by *cooptatio*, that is, surviving members chose the new ones.

7. Quem ad modum, etc.: Livy is at a loss to explain why the number of augurs before 300 B.C. was four, since if they were selected from the three original tribes the number of augurs should be a multiple of three. — **morte duorum**: the historian seems to think the number had previously been six. — **imparem**: *uneven* is the regular meaning, but the word here evidently means multiples of an uneven number (three).

Page 196. — 8. multiplicati sunt, cum, etc.: in 300 B.C., when five augurs added to four made a multiple of three, *i.e.* nine.

9. iuxta . . . quam = *aeque . . . ac.*

10. ipsos: = *deos.*

11. id: explained by *magnos honores.*

Chapter 7.

P. Decius Mus, a plebeian, advances arguments in favor of admitting plebeians to the priesthood.

1. Ap. Claudium, P. Decium Murem: patrician and plebeian respectively.

2. pro lege Licinia: the arguments are given on pp. 167–168.

3. incinctum Gabino cultu, etc.: as described in the preceding book (p. 184, § 9).

5. ne . . . audirent dii: the taking of the auspices to determine the will of the gods, the offering of sacrifices, and in fact the performance of all religious ceremonies had always been an exclusively patrician office.

6. Quem paenitere, etc.: the gods have heard with favor the vows made by plebeian generals.

Page 197. — 9. tunica palmata et toga picta: worn by the consul *triumphator*. These were taken from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus for the occasion (cf. below *Iovis optimi maximi ornatu*).

11. imaginis: see note to this word, p. 43, § 6.

12. pace . . . deum: said in order not to stir the anger of the gods in consequence of the following statement. — **eos** = *tales*, predicate. — **beneficio**: the election to the high offices.

Chapter 8.

Decius continues with his arguments.

1. egi: *discussed.* — **integra**: *untouched.* The plebeians had already invaded the religious offices in 368 B.C. (p. 161, § 12) when the number of the *decemviri sacris faciundis* was increased to ten, half of whom were to be plebeians.

2. carminum Sibyllae: carefully preserved by the *decemviri* and consulted by them on occasions of great distress or of unexplained natural phenomena, as a pestilence or earthquake, in order to discover means of appeasing the gods. The official importance of this board of ten men was, therefore, not as great as that of the colleges of the pontifices or the augurs. — **Apollinaris**: the worship of Apollo, as the healing god who averts pestilence, was closely connected with the care of the Sibylline oracles (see Carter, p. 62).

3. tribunus: Q. Ogulnius (see Chap. 6, § 3).

Page 198. — **adicit**: in his bill.

4. pellant: by the new arrangement the patricians would still have the same number of pontifices and augurs as formerly.

6. acceperunt: the Claudian *gens* was originally Sabine; its progenitor came to Rome in 504 B.C.

9. gentem habere: belonged to the original *gentes*, that is, "was of old stock." — **fuit**: sc. as subject *imperium et auspicium*.

10. En: gives an ironical turn. — **patrem ciere**: suggesting a derivation, though an incorrect one, of *patricius*.

Chapter 9.

The bill is passed by a large majority. The Valerian law of appeal is reënacted.

Page 199. — **2. tribunis**: who had entered the *intercessio*.

3. Tertio: in the very first year of the republic a law was passed, called from the name of one of the consuls, Lex Valeria, insuring to both plebeian and patrician the right of appeal to the people from the judgment of any magistrate who pronounced a sentence of death. This law (Leges Valeriae Horatiae) was reënacted in 449 B.C. after the rule of the decemvirs. These successive reënactments were made necessary by the encroachments of powerful magistrates upon the rights of uninfluential citizens. There was also no definite penalty attached to its violation.

4. Porcia lex: this law under a heavy penalty protected the Roman citizen against scourging. The penalty for violating the Lex Valeria was simply the stigma of *improbitas;* this was quite sufficient for the early days, although Livy confesses it was inadequate for his own time.

BOOK X, CHAPTERS 27–29

The Battle of Sentinum (295 B.C.)

Parallel Reading: On the history, Niebuhr, *History,* III. 368–385, *Lectures,* I. 398–402; Mommsen, I. 486–490; Duruy, I. 358, 359; Lewis, II. 464–470; Shuckburgh, 154–159; How and Leigh, 114–120; Pelham, 89, 90; Morey, 83; Botsford, 59–61.

Chapter 27.

Preparations are made for a decisive conflict. An omen appears, which is interpreted as favorable to the Romans.

1. in agrum Sentinatem: the agreement (*sponsio*) made at the Caudine Forks (p. 193, § 2) was not confirmed by the Roman senate, and the second Samnite war dragged on in a desultory and indecisive conflict until 304 B.C., when peace was made. But peace did not last long, for in 298 B.C. war broke out again. The Samnites formed a coalition with the Etruscans and the Gauls, who were again on the move southward, and a decisive battle was fought at Sentinum in central Umbria.

4. Clusini: of Clusium, one of the strongholds of Etruria.

Page 200. — 5. Fulvio, Postumio: *propraetores* in charge of reserve armies, the latter stationed in the *ager Vaticanus* which was just northwest of Rome on the right bank of the Tiber, the former farther away northward in the district adjoining the Etruscan city of Falerii. — **ut ex Falisco:** sc. *exercitum ad Clusium admoveant.*

9. sacram Dianae feram: the *cerva.*

10. Dextro cornu: the forces were arranged thus: —

Gauls	Samnites
Decius with the fifth and sixth legions	Fabius with the first and third legions

Chapter 28.

The battle having begun, the Romans are thrown into disorder from the noise caused by the Gallic chariots. The consul, P. Decius, following his father's example, devotes himself for the army.

1. Mars belli: the impartial god of war.

Page 201. — 2. serum: a substantive, but *quam maxime* limits the adjective idea which it contains.

4. virorum, feminarum: sc. *proelia.*

5. servabat: in Gaul Caesar often employed these same tactics, namely, first tiring out the volatile Gauls before striking a decisive blow, as at the battle with the Helvetians (*Bell. Gall.* I. 24, 25).

9. essedis: Caesar makes no mention of the use of chariots by the Gauls, but the Britons, we learn from him, employed them in much the same way as described here. By the noise and commotion which they created, they inspired panic among the enemy (*ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant,* Caes. *Bell. Gall.* IV. 33).

10. lymphaticus: Seneca describes this fear as *sine mente.*

13. patrem P. Decium: cf. with the following account the description given above, pp. 183, 184, of the *devotio* of the elder P. Decius.

Page 202. — 15. secundum: *following.*

Chapter 29.

The Romans are inspired with fresh courage, and win the day.

4. defunctos: *saved.*

Page 203. — 6. pede collato: *in close conflict.* — **testudinem:** the close array of the enemy, protected by their shields, which they held in front of them. Cf. *cuneus* below.

7. plerisque, rarisque: in partitive apposition with *quibus.*

14. aedem Iovi Victori: erected probably upon the Palatine hill, but its exact site is not known.

Page 204. — 15. turba: abl. case.

18. dimissis: (*men*) *having been dispatched.*

BOOK X, CHAPTER 47. 2

The Census of the Year 293 B.C.

Chapter 47.

1. **eo anno**: 293 B.C. — **Lustrum**: the chief duties of the censors, who were appointed every five years and held office for eighteen months, were the numbering and purifying of the people. The ceremony of purification (*lustrum*) was performed with the *suovetaurilia*. See note on this word, p. 53, § 2. — **censa**: the first census recorded by Livy was under the king Servius Tullius, when the population of Rome was said to be 80,000; the next, in 465 B.C., gave 114,714; the next, in 459 B.C., gave 117,319. The census mentioned in this passage, which gave a population of 262,321, is the fourth one noted by our historian.

INDEX NOMINUM

The student is urged to use great care in pronouncing the Latin proper names that occur in this book. The English method of pronunciation is recommended as being the only one in which consistency is possible. To pronounce a Latin proper name in accordance with this method, it is necessary[1] (1) to find the nominative case (singular or plural, according to usage, as *Corbio*, *Circeii*); (2) to determine which is the accented syllable (by the length of the penult); (3) to divide the word into its syllables; (4) to know the sounds of the vowels and consonants in certain positions. In the following list the first and third steps are already taken for the student, and he will need to apply the rules for determining (1) the accented syllable[2] and (2) the proper sounds of the letters. The most important rules for determining the latter are the following:

(*a*) If the accented syllable ends in a vowel, this vowel has the long English sound; as, Fi-cā-na, Gra-dī-vus, Eu-gā-ne-i.

(*b*) If the accented syllable ends in a consonant, the vowel in this syllable has the short English sound; as, E-ván-der, No-mén-tum, La-vín-i-a.

NOTE. *oe* and *ae* are to be pronounced as if *e*, and *eu* is to be pronounced as if *u*; as, Cloe-li-i, Py-laem-e-nes, Eu-ga-ne-i. *au* has the sound of *au* in the English word *pause;* as, Au-ler-ci. $y = i$; as, Ge-ry-on.

(*c*) A final *i* has the long English sound; as, En-e-ti.

(*d*) *g* and *c* have a soft sound (as in *giant*, *city*) before *e*, *i*, *y*, *oe*, and *ae*; as, Gem-i-nus, Li-cin-i-us. These letters have a hard sound (as in *go*, *come*) before *a*, *o*, and *u*; as, Py-thag-o-ras, Lu-cu-mo.

(*e*) Final *es* is pronounced like the English word *ease;* as, Ab-o-rig-i-nes.

(*f*) *ch* has a hard sound as in the English word *chorus;* as, An-chī-ses.

(*g*) *t*, *c*, and *s* when followed by *i* and a vowel and preceded immediately by the accented syllable have the sound of *sh*; as, Ca-la-ti-a, Lar-ci-us, Me-si-a. But when *t* is preceded by *s*, *t*, or *x*, it keeps its pure sound; as, Hos-ti-us, Met-ti-us, Sex-ti-us.

[1] Fuller instructions than can be given here will be found in Richmond, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin Proper Names*, or in briefer form, Pattengill, *Rules for the Pronunciation of Greek and Latin Proper Names*. Both treatises are published by George Wahr, Ann Arbor, Mich.

[2] The rule is that the penult syllable is accented if it is long (that is, if it contains either a long vowel, or any vowel followed by two consonants); if the penult syllable is short, the antepenult receives the accent. In the list of names a long vowel in the penult syllable is indicated; as, Ae-nē-as.

In the following list there are three classes of names:

(1) Proper nouns which are regularly translated or anglicized; as, Pa-la-ti-um (*the Palatine hill*), Co-rin-thus (*Corinth*). The translated or anglicized form is given in each case in parentheses.

(2) Proper nouns which are never translated or anglicized, as Ga-bi-i; or only occasionally, as In-su-bres (or *Insubrians*).

(3) Proper adjectives. These are sometimes anglicized; as, Hadriaticus (*Adriatic*), and sometimes translated by the word *of* followed by the corresponding proper noun, as Veliternus (*of Velitrae*).

A. = Au-lus
Ab-o-rig-i-nes
A-chī-vi (*Achaeans*)
Actiacus, adj. (*of Actium*)
Ae-bu-ti-us
Ae-li-us
Ae-mil-i-us
Ae-nē-as
Ae-qui
Ae-quic-u-li
Ae-sis
A-grip-pa
Al-ba
Al-ba (Lon-ga)
Al-bā-ni (*the Albans*)
Albānus, adj. (*of Alba*)
Al-bin-i-us
Al-bī-nus
Al-bu-la
Al-gi-dus
A-li-a
Al-pes (*the Alps*)
Alpīnus, adj. (*Alpine, of the Alps*)
Am-bar-ri
Am-bi-gā-tus
Am-e-ri-o-la
A-mu-li-us
An-chī-ses
An-cus
A-ni-o
An-ni-us
An-tem-nā-tes
An-tē-nor
Antias, adj. (*of Antium*)
An-to-ni-us
A-pi-o-lae
Apollināris, adj. (*of Apollo*)
A-pol-lo
App. = Appius
Ap-pen-nī-nus (*the Apennines*)
Ap-pi-us
A-pro-ni-us
Ap-u-le'i-us (-yus)
A-pu-li-a
Ar-ca-des (*the Arcadians*)
Ar-ca-di-a
Arcadicus, adj. (*Arcadian*)
Ar-de-ā-tes (or *people of Ardea*)
Ar-gē-i
Ar-gi-lē-tum
A-ric-i-a
Ar-i-cī-ni
Aricīnus, adj. (*of Aricia*)
Ar-runs
Ar-ver-ni
Ar-vī-na
As-ca-ni-us
A-si-a
Atellānus, adj. (*Atellan, of Atella*)
A-thē-nae (*Athens*)
At-ti-us
At-tus
A-tys
Au-gus-tus
Au-ler-ci
Au-lus
Au-run-ci
Av-en-tī-nus (*the Aventine*)

Bar-bā-tus
Bel-lō-na
Bel-lo-vē-sus

Bit-u-rī-ges
Bo'i-i
Bren-nus
Brix-i-a
Bru-tus

C. = Ga'i-us
Ca-cus
Cae-dic-i-us
Cae-li-us (*the Caelian hill*)
Caen-i-nen-ses
Cae-re
Cae-sar
Ca-la-ti-a
Cal-vī-nus
Cal-vus
Ca-mē-nae
Ca-me-ri-a
Ca-mil-lus
Cam-pā-ni (*the Campanians*)
Ca-pē-na
Cap-e-tus
Cap-i-to-lī-nus
Capitolīnus, adj. (*of the Capitoline*)
Cap-i-to-li-um (*the Capitoline hill*)
Ca-pra
Cap-u-a
Ca-pys
Car-men-ta
Car-men-tis
Car-nu-tes
Cas-tor
Caudīnus, adj. (*of Caudium*)
Cau-di-um
Cel-e-res
Cel-tae (*the Celts*)
Cel-ti-cum (*the Celtic nation*)
Ce-nom-a-ni
Cin-cin-nā-tus
Cir-ce (a)
Circeiensis, adj. (*of Circeii*)
Cir-ce'i-i (-se-yi)
Cisalpīnus, adj. (*Cisalpine*)
Clau-di-us
Claudius, adj. (*Claudian*)
Clau-sus
Clo-a-cī-na
Cloe-li-a
Cloe-li-i
Cloe-li-us
Clu-il-i-us
Cluilius, adj. (*Cluilian*)
Clu-sī-ni (*people of Clusium*)
Clu-si-um
Cn. = Gnae-us
Co-cles
Co-clī-tes (*men like Cocles*)
Col-la-ti-a
Col-la-tī-ni (*people of Collatia*)
Col-la-tī-nus
Col-lī-na (por-ta)
Co-min-i-us
Con-sua-li-a
Cor-bi-o
Co-rin-thus (*Corinth*)
Cor-ne-li-i
Cor-ne-li-us
Cor-ni-cen
Cor-nic-u-lum
Cras-sus
Cre-ū-sa
Cro-ton
Crus-tu-me-ri-a
Crus-tu-me-ri-um
Crus-tu-mī-ni
Crustumīnus, adj. (*of Crustumeria*)
Cu-mae
Cumānus, adj. (*of Cumae*)
Cu-res
Cu-ri-a-ti-i
Cu-ri-a-ti-us
Cur-tius
Cy-pri-us (vi-cus)

De-ci-us
Del-phi
Dem-a-rā-tus
Den-ter
Di-ā-lis
Di-ā-na
Di-a-ni-um
Di-es-pi-ter (*Jupiter*)
Dor-su-o
Du-il-li-i (*men like Duillius*)

Du-il-li-us
Durius, adj. (*Durian*)

Ec-e-trā-ni
E-ge-ri-a
E-ge-ri-us
Eg-na-ti-us
E-lic-i-us
En-e-ti
Ephesius, adj. (*of the Ephesians*)
E-rē-tum
Es-quil-i-ae (*the Esquiline*)
Esquilīnus, adj. (*of the Esquiline*)
Et-i-to-vi-us
E-tru-ri-a
E-trus-ci (*the Etruscans*)
Eu-ga-ne-i
E-van-der

Fa-bi-i
Fa-bi-us
Fabius, adj. (*Fabian*)
Fae-sus
Fa-le-ri-i
Faliscus, adj. (*of Falerii*)
Faus-tu-lus
Fer-en-tī-na
Fe-re-tri-us
Fe-ro-ni-a
Fescennīnus, adj. (*Fescennine*)
Fi-cā-na
Fi-cul-e-a
Fic-u-len-sis (vi-a)
Fi-dē-nae
Fid-e-nā-tes
Fi-des
Flaminius, adj. (*Flaminian*)
Fo-li-us
Fu-fe-ti-us
Fu-ri-us
Fu-si-us

Ga-bi-i
Ga-bī-ni (*people of Gabii*)
Gabīnus, adj. (*of Gabii, Gabinian*)
Gai-us (-yus)
Gal-li (*the Gauls*)
Gallicus, adj. (*of the Gauls, Gallic*)
Ge-ga-ni-i
Ge-ga-ni-us
Gel-li-us
Gem-i-nus
Ge-nu-ci-us
Ge-ry-on
Grac-chus
Gra-dī-vus
Grae-ci-a (*Greece*)
Graecus, adj. (*Greek*)

Ha-dri-a
Hadriaticus, adj. (*Adriatic*)
Haed-u-i
Hel-e-na (or *Helen*)
Her-a-clē-a
Her-cu-les
Hercynius, adj. (*Hercynian*)
Her-do-ni-us
He-ren-ni-us
Her-min-i-us
Her-ni-ci
Her-sil-i-a
Ho-ra-ti-a
Ho-ra-ti-i
Ho-ra-ti-us
Horatius, adj. (*Horatian*)
Hos-til-i-a
Hos-til-i-us
Hos-ti-us

Ia-nic-u-lum (pronounced Ja-nic-u-lum)
Ia-nus (pronounced Ja-nus)
I-cil-i-i (*men like Icilius*)
I-cil-i-us
Il-i-um
In-di-ges
In-dig-i-tes
In-su-bres (or *Insubrians*)
In-u-us
I-tal-i-a (*Italy*)
Italicus, adj. (*of Italy, Italian*)
Iu-li-us (pronounced Ju-li-us)
Iulius, adj. (*Julian*)
I-ū-lus

Iu-ni-us (pronounced Ju-ni-us)
Iu-no (pronounced Ju-no)
Iuppiter (pronounced Ju-pi-ter)

K. = Kae-so

L. = Lu-ci-us
Lae-to-ri-us
Lae-vi Lig-u-res
La-nu-vi-um
Lar-ci-us
La-ren-ti-a
La-res
Lars
La-tī-ni
La-tī-nus
La-ti-um
Laurens, adj. (*of Laurentum, Laurentian*)
Lau-ren-tes
Lau-ren-tum
La-vin-i-a
La-vin-i-um
Li-ber
Lib-e-ra
Lib-u-i
Li-cin-i-us
Licinius, adj. (*Licinian*)
Lig-u-res
Lin-go-nes
Liv-i-us (An-dro-nī-cus)
Lon-ga (Al-ba)
Lon-gus
Lu-ce-res
Lu-ce-ri-a
Lu-ce-rī-ni (*people of Luceria*)
Lu-ci-us
Lu-cre-ti-a
Lu-cre-ti-us
Lu-cu-mo
Lu-per-cal
Lycaeus, adj. (*Lycaean*)

M. = Mar-cus
M'. = Ma-ni-us
Mac-e-do-ni-a
Macedonicus, adj. (*Macedonian*)
Mae-ci-us
Maius, adj. (*of May*)
Mal-i-ti-ō-sa (sil-va)
Mal-u-gi-nen-sis
Ma-mil-i-us
Ma-nes
Ma-ni-us
Manliānus, adj. (*Manlian*)
Man-li-us
Mar-ci-us
Mar-cus
Mars
Mar-si
Mar-ti-us (cam-pus)
Martius, adj. (*of Mars*)
Mas-sil-i-en-ses
Me-di-o-la-ni-um
Me-dul-li-a
Me-ne-ni-us
Mer-cu-ri-us (*Mercury*)
Me-ren-da
Me-si-a (sil-va)
Met-a-pon-tum
Met-ti-us
Me-zen-ti-us
Mi-nu-ci-us
Mu-ci-i (*men like Mucius*)
Mucius, adj. (*Mucian*)
Mu-ci-us
Mur-ci-a
Mus

Nae-vi-a (por-ta)
Nau-ti-us
Na-vi-us
Nep-tū-nus (*Neptune*)
Nom-en-tā-na (vi-a)
No-men-tum
No-va (vi-a)
No-ven-si-les
Nu-ma
Nu-mī-cus
Nu-mis-i-us
Nu-mi-tor
Nu-mi-to-ri-us

O-ce-a-nus (*Ocean*)
Oc-ta-vi-us

O-gul-ni-i
O-gul-ni-us
Ogulnius, adj. (*Ogulnian*)
Op-pi-us
Os-ci (*Oscans*)
Os-ti-a

P. = Pub-li-us
Pa-dus (*Po* river)
Pae-lig-ni (or *Peligni*ans)
Pae-tus
Pa-la-ti-um (*the Palatine hill*)
Pal-lan-tē-um
Pal-lan-ti-um
Pal-lor
Pan
Paph-la-go-ni-a
Pa-pir-i-us
Pel-o-pon-nē-sus
Pet-i-cus
Phi-lo
Pho-cae-a
Pic-tor
Pi-na-ri-i
Pi-so
Poenīnus, adj. (*Pennine*)
Poe-nus
Poe-til-i-us
Pol-i-to-ri-um
Po-me-ti-a
Pom-pil-i-us
Pom-po-ni-us
Pomptīnus, adj. (*Pomptine*)
Pon-ti-us
Por-ci-us
Porcius, adj. (*Porcian*)
Por-sin-na
Pos-tu-mi-us
Po-tit-i-i
Po-tī-tus
Prae-nes-te
Pris-ci (La-tī-ni)
Pris-cus
Pro-ca
Proc-u-lus
Pub-lic-o-la
Pub-lil-i-us
Pub-li-us
Punicus, adj. (*Carthaginian*)
Py-laem-e-nes
Py-thag-o-ras
Pythicus, adj. (*Pythian*)

Q. = Quin-tus
Quinc-ti-i
Quinc-ti-us
Quinctius, adj. (*Quintian*)
Quintiānus, adj. (*of Quinctius*)
Quin-tus
Quir-i-nā-lis (with or without *collis, the Quirinal*, with *flamen, of Quirinus*)
Qui-rī-nus
Qui-rī-tes

Rab-u-le'i-us (-yus)
Ra-cil-i-a
Rae-ti
Ram-nen-ses
Ram-nes
Re-a
Re-gil-lus
Re-mus
Ro-ma (*Rome*)
Ro-mā-ni (*Romans*)
Ro-mil-i-us
Rom-u-lā-ris (fī-cus)
Rom-u-lus
Ru-mi-nā-lis (fī-cus)
Ru-tu-li
Ru-tu-lus

Sa-bī-ni (*the Sabines*)
Sabīnus, adj. (*Sabine*)
Sa-cer (mons)
Sa-li-i
Sal-lu-vi-i
Samius, adj. (*Samian, of Samos*)
Sam-nī-tes (*Samnites*)
Scaev-o-la
Scip-i-o
Seg-o-vē-sus
Sem-pro-ni-us
Sen-o-nes

Sentīnas, adj. (*of Sentinum*)
Sen-tī-num
Ser. = Ser-vi-us
Ser-gi-us
Ser-vil-i-i
Ser-vil-i-us
Ser-vi-us
Ses-ti-us
Se-ti-a
Setīnus, adj. (*of Setia*)
Sex. = Sex-tus
Sex-ti-us
Sex-tus
Si-byl-la (*Sibyl*)
Sic-ci-us
Si-cil-i-a (*Sicily*)
Si-cin-i-us
Siculus, adj. (*Sicilian*)
Sid-i-cī-ni
Sig-ni-a
Sil-vi-a
Sil-vi-us
So-phus
Sp. = Spu-ri-us
Spu-ri-us
Sta-tor
Sto-lo
Su-es-sa Po-me-ti-a
Sul-pic-i-us
Su-per-bus

T. = Ti-tus
Ta-las-si-us
Tan-a-quil
Tar-pe'i-us (-yus)
Tarpeius, adj. (*Tarpeian*)
Tar-quin-i-a
Tar-quin-i-i
Tar-quin-i-us
Tar-quit-i-us
Ta-ti-us
Tau-rī-ni
Tel-lē-nae
Tel-lus
Ter-mi-nus
Ter-ra
Ti. = Ti-be-ri-us
Tib-e-rī-nus
Tiberīnus, adj. (*of the Tiber*)
Tib-e-ris
Ti-cī-nus
Tit-i-en-ses
Tit-i-es
Ti-tin-i-us
Ti-tus
Tor-quā-tus
Tric-as-tī-ni
Tri-ci-pi-tī-nus
Tro'i-ā (*Troy*)
Troi-ā-ni (*the Trojans*)
Tul-li-a
Tul-li-us
Tul-lus
Tur-nus
Tus-ci (*Etruscans*)
Tus-cu-lā-ni (*the people of Tusculum*)
Tusculānus, adj. (*Tusculan*)
Tus-cu-lum
Tyrrhēnus, adj. (*Tyrrhenian*)

U-lix-is (*Ulysses*)
Um-bri (*the Umbrians*)
Ur-bi-us (cli-vus)
U-tens

Va-le-ri-i
Va-le-ri-us
Vaticānus, adj. (*Vatican*)
Ve-cil-i-us
Vei-en-tes
Ve'ii (-yi)
Veientānus, adj. (*of Veii, Veientian*)
Veliternus, adj. (*of Velitrae*)
Vel-i-trae
Ven-e-ti
Ve-nus
Ver-gin-i-a
Ver-gin-i-us
Ve-rō-na
Ves-e-ris
Ves-ta
Ves-tā-lis (*a Vestal virgin*)
Vestalis, adj. (*of Vesta*)

Ve-su-vi-us (mons)
Ve-tu-ri-us
Ve-tu-si-us
Vib-u-lā-nus
Vic-tor
Vil-li-us
Vim-i-nā-lis (*the Viminal*)
Vol-e-sus
Vol-sci (*the Volscians*)
Vol-sci-us
Volscus, adj. (*Volscian*)
Vo-lum-ni-us
Vul-cā-nus (*Vulcan*)

Peter Kennedy Square { Hopkinson Smith

Page, Thomas Nelson

Fox, Joseph { The Little Shepherd of the Hills.

Dickens A Christmas Carol

Cricket on the Hearth

Sowing Seeds in Danny